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International Affairs

Croatian President Franjo Tudjman and FRY President Dobrica Cosic signed a joint statement following talks in Geneva, Zagreb radio reports. In the statement, Tudjman and Cosic agree that "the Yugoslav Army will leave Prevlaka by 20 October, that this most southern part of Croatia will be demilitarized in the presence of UN observers, and that security arrangements for Boka Kotorska Bay and Dubrovnik will be established through ensuing negotiations." They also agreed that "their countries will solve all problems peacefully and that they will completely refrain from ethnic cleansing and will safeguard the safety of minorities." After the signing, Tudjman "stressed that all contradictions that caused the war on the soil of the former Yugoslavia were manifest in the talks," and noted that peace was necessary "in order to resolve all outstanding historical issues between Serbs and Croats." Cosic expressed "moderate optimism," adding that the talks "advanced relations and the resolution of problems on the soil of the former Yugoslavia."

Bosnia-Hercegovina

TANJUG reports that Bozidar Vucurevic, "leader of Serbs in eastern Hercegovina", said that the FRY Government's current policy "is making concession after concession to the detriment of the Serbian people in Hercegovina, Knin and Montenegro". Referring to the statement on demilitarizing the Prevlaka peninsula signed by Tudjman and Cosic, Vucurevic said he did not agree with the plan, and he stated: "Hercegovina would practically be left to 'fight by itself against half of Croatia, to fight for the borders and part of the Adriatic Sea.'"

Yugoslavia

Federal—TANJUG reports that upon his return from the United Nations General Assembly session, Prime Minister Milan Panic said: "Considering the circumstances, the trip was incredibly successful." In support of his assessment of the visit's success, Panic stated: "We are still members of the United Nations. This is a great success because the world was ready to expel us. I consider that this is a change in the attitude of the United Nations toward Yugoslavia."

Croatia

According to Zagreb radio, "more than 10,000 refugees" converged on the village of Antunovac, but the UNPROFOR denied them access. Colonel Loginov, of the UNPROFOR, addressed the refugees and "stressed that their return was impossible as there was no electricity in Antunovac and the whole area had to be cleared of mines."

Bulgaria

Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev, as president of the 47th session of the United Nations General Assembly, discussed the crisis in Yugoslavia with Ilija Djukic, foreign affairs minister of Serbia and Montenegro, BTA reports. Ganev hoped that "a political solution to the conflict would be found shortly." He also raised "the problem of the Bulgarian minority in Serbia." In response, Ilija Dukic stated that "settlement of this problem could become a bridge of friendship between the two peoples," and he "promised to take steps for clarifying and resolving the Bulgarian minority's problems."

Tudjman, Cosic Agree on Prevlaka Demilitarization

LD3009213692 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 30 Sep 92

[Text] The signing of a joint statement in the European headquarters of the United Nations ended top-level talks between delegations of the Republic of Croatia and the so-called Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, headed by Presidents Franjo Tudjman and Dobrica Cosic. Lord Owen and Cyrus Vance co-signed the statement in their capacity as cochairmen of today's meeting and the Conference on Yugoslavia.

The first part of the statement assesses that it is necessary to normalize relations between the two countries through mutual recognition on the basis of the London Conference conclusions. Then it is said that both countries will make possible the return of all refugees to their homes through emergency measures.

One of the important conclusions, which was the topic of discussions outside the meeting, is the stipulation that the Yugoslav Army will leave Prevlaka by 20 October, that this most southern part of Croatia will be demilitarized in the presence of UN observers, and that security arrangements for Boka Kotorska Bay and Dubrovnik will be established through ensuing negotiations.

Furthermore, the two countries will set up a committee for resolving outstanding bilateral issues, specifically economic and transport.

The two state presidents agreed that their countries will solve all problems peacefully and that they will completely refrain from ethnic cleansing and will safeguard the safety of minorities. Finally, it was agreed that the two presidents will meet again on 20 October in the presence of the cochairmen.

In a brief statement after the signing, President Tudjman stressed that all contradictions that caused the war on the soil of the former Yugoslavia were manifest in the talks. He added that he agreed with leaders of the so-called FRY, especially with Dobrica Cosic, that it was necessary to reach peace in order to resolve all outstanding historical issues between Serbs and Croats.

We had different approaches to problems, but efforts gave encouraging results, President Tudjman said, adding that the talks were much more painful then the statement shows.

While also expressing moderate optimism, Dobrica Cosic said that the talks advanced relations and the resolution of problems on the soil of the former Yugoslavia. Yes, former Yugoslavia is exactly what he said, which means that even he, as the head of the new state, has finally recognized that the other Yugoslavia is dead.

Within the framework of the peace commission's work, the leaders of national communities were in Geneva today. Mate Boban, the Croat leader in Bosnia-Hercegovina, said at a brief news conference that the demilitarization of Sarajevo was discussed and that he and the people he leads believed that this was probably not an example of the ending of war in Bosnia-Hercegovina, but he added that every good idea should be accepted.

After Tudjman and Cosic spoke at the news conference, Lord Owen spoke briefly about this and other aspects of the crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

[Belgrade TANJUG in English at 2227 GMT on 30 September, in a similar report on the "eight-point" agreement, adds: "The two presidents expressed hope that future meetings would be attended by president of the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina Alija Izetbegovic."]

FRY Delgation Allegedly Subjected to 'Pressure'

AU0110094092 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 30 Sep 92

[Momcilo Blagojevic report]

[Excerpt] There was a sudden crisis tonight during the Yugoslav-Croatian talks at the Geneva summit, which are also being attended by the two cochairmen of the Geneva conference, Cyrus Vance and David Owen. The talks went into a recess because enormous pressure was being exerted on the Yugoslav side to recognize Croatia within Broz's [Tito's] or, as they say, within the internationally recognized borders.

At present, and it is about 1900 now, the session, which is being attended by all members of the delegations, is still in recess. We have learned that cochairmen Cyrus Vance and David Owen are conducting separate talks with President Cosic and his associates. This represents a real and intolerable breaking of a country's backbone and an attempt to put a stop to the initial positive impulse that was registered in the morning part of the talks between Dobrica Cosic and Franjo Tudjman. What is evident in these talks, which are referred to as negotiations, is that the West and its proteges on the territory of Yugoslavia are openly acting from positions of power.

It is only in the light of this sudden deterioration in the talks between the Yugoslav and Croatian presidents that this morning's arrogant statement by British Foreign Minister Douglas Hurd became fully understood. He suddenly arrived in Geneva saying that economic and diplomatic pressures on Serbia and Montenegro are producing results. He went so far in his nonchalant arrogance that he made allusions to the effect that this meeting would not have taken place if economic and diplomatic pressure had not been exerted on Serbia and Montenegro. He did not even mention the name of Yugoslavia.

It is difficult to say at present whether the Geneva conference cochairmen retain this course of pressure.

This will be known later, after the conclusion of the direct talks between Cyrus Vance and David Owen on the one hand, and President Cosic and his associates on the other hand.

When Tudjman and Cosic met this morning in a relatively relaxed atmosphere—something that came to full prominence during the joint lunch—no one could anticipate that the already registered detente in Yugoslav-Croatian relations would suddenly be replaced with deterioration, which expresses a de facto dictate to the Yugoslav side.

The Yugoslav side is asked to make a concession that affects the future of the Serbian people in Krajina. As was commented in the circles of the Yugoslav delegation accompanying President Cosic during the intermission in the plenary meeting, such a concession is almost impossible because it demands the approval of or an endorsement by the Yugoslav parliament.

Serb Leader Meets With Conference Cochairmen

LD3009165392 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1458 GMT 30 Sep 92

[Excerpt] Geneva, September 30 (TANJUG)—The leader of Bosnia-Hercegovina Serbs, Radovan Karadzic, conferred in Geneva on Wednesday [30 September] morning with the co-chairmen of the International Conference on Yugoslavia, Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen, according to ASSOCIATED PRESS.

The spokesman of the conference co-chairmen, Fred Eckhard, declined to disclose details about the outcome of the talks, but did say the diplomatic activity in Geneva was picking up, which he said was an indication that the conference was making headway. Eckhard said it was encouraging that so many protagonists were ready for mutual talks. [passage omitted]

Panic Warns UN on Croat-Bosnian Military Treaty

LD3010211292 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1203 GMT 29 Sep 92

["Pool" item]

[Text] Los Angeles, Sept. 29 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Panic on Tuesday [29 October] wrote a letter to President of the U.N. Security Council Jose Ayala Lazo, warning of serious consequences which might result from a military treaty signed recently in New York by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman and Bosnian Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic. (Begin text):

"Under the very roof of the United Nations, world's major organization for the promotion of peace and cooperation, the Presidents Franjo Tudjman of Croatia and Alija Izetbegovic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, signed an agreement of military nature on 23 September 1992. In view of the serious consequences that this undertaking may have, I would like to point out the following:

"Charges against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia contained in the preambular part of their agreement are false and unfounded.

"The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and its Army can in no way be accused of aggression. It has been confirmed by the U.N. that not a single Yugoslav soldier is in the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Yugoslavia is also cooperating with the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] in implementing the latter's mandate and the U.N. peace plan.

"Yugoslavia and I personally, have repeatedly invited the United Nations to send observers to monitor all military airfields in Yugoslavia and along its borders. At the London conference, I requested several thousand peace-keeping forces to be sent to patrol our borders and offered to help the United Nations with logistical support.

"That would provide the best assurances that no support is flowing from Yugoslavia to combatants in Bosnia-Hercegovina or Croatia.

"However, on the other hand, it has been confirmed that 30,000 regular and 10,000 irregular troops are militarily engaged in Bosnia-Hercegovina. The agreement signed in New York is an attempt to legitimize the Croatian military presence.

"Presidents of Bosnia-Hercegovina and Croatia jointly requested the abrogation of the arms embargo. This request, if heeded, would further escalate and broaden the conflict.

"What we need now is more peace-keeping forces, not more arms for the parties to the conflict since the Balkans are polluted already with too many arms. Yugoslavia is in favour and repeatedly asked for a complete demilitarization of all Bosnia-Hercegovina.

"It should be clear that the request of Presidents Tudjman and Izetbegovic to invoke Article 51 of the U.N. Charter, is not a legitimate one since it is based on false presumptions.

"In the light of all that, it should be understood that the agreement signed by Presidents Tudjman and Izetbegovic would have adverse effects on the search of a peaceful solution and could seriously jeopardize the ongoing activities within the framework of the Geneva conference. It is in defiance and in contravention of the relevant U.N. Security Council resolutions.

"Nevertheless, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia remains firmly committed to a just and peaceful solution to all problems and it will continue to vigorously pursue that goal."

Ganev, Djukic Discuss Bulgarian Minority Issue

AU2909214292 Sofia BTA in English 2102 GMT 29 Sep 92

[Excerpts] New York, September 29 (BTA)—The president of the 47th Session of the United Nations General Assembly, Bulgarian Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev, had a meeting with Mr. Ilija Djukic, minister of foreign affairs of Serbia and Montenegro, at the request of the latter. They talked about a number of issues in connection with the resolution of the General Assembly of September 19 concerning the problem of former Yugoslavia's succession in the world organization. Mr. Stoyan Ganev interpreted the document at Mr. Ilija Djukic's request. They considered the crisis in former Yugoslavia. Mr. Stoyan Ganev expressed his hope that a political solution to the conflict would be found shortly. He availed himself of the opportunity to raise the problem of the Bulgarian minority in Serbia once again. Mr. Ilija Djukic agreed that the settlement of this problem could become a bridge of friendship between the two peoples. He promised to take steps for clarifying and resolving the Bulgarian minority's problems. [passage omitted]

Mr. Stoyan Ganev met with Panama's President Guillermo Endara. Besides the activity of the world organization, they discussed bilateral relations. It was stressed that various forms for the promotion of cooperation between the two countries should be found after the establishment of diplomatic relations. The possibilities of opening embassies were considered. On behalf of President Zhelyu Zhelev, Mr. Ganev invited President Guillermo Endara to visit Bulgaria.

Today Mr. Stoyan Ganev had talks with Dr. Guido De Marco, deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs of Malta. Dr. Guido De Marco presided the UN General Assembly two years ago. Mr. Ganev laid his idea to set up a club of the president. Its members will be the president of the UN General Assembly in the respective year and his predecessors who presided its latest sessions. The members will meet periodically and make some recommendations by which the club would ensure a better continuity in the work of the UN General Assembly.

Ganev Meets Foreign Diplomats in New York

AU3009202092 Sofia BTA in English 1952 GMT 30 Sep 92

[Text] New York, September 30 (BTA)—Today Mr. Stoyan Ganev, president of the 47th Session of the UN General Assembly and Bulgarian foreign minister, met Mr. Lakhdar Brahimi, foreign minister of Algeria. Apart from issues concerning the work of the United Nations, the two sides discussed the development of the traditionally good relations between the two countries. Mr. Brahimi said that Algeria is studying the possibilities for settling its debt to Bulgaria.

Today Mr. Ganev also met the foreign minister of Tunisia, Mr. Habib Ben Yahya. During the talks it was pointed out that the work of the Intergovernmental Commission for Economic, Scientific and Technological Cooperation should be stepped up. Mr. Ben Yahya said that Tunisia will soon present Bulgaria with a list of its concrete needs of specialists in the field of education, medicine and construction. It was agreed for the Tunisian foreign minister to visit Bulgaria next year to discuss bilateral cooperation and economic contacts in greater detail.

Mr. Stoyan Ganev also met the president of Senegal, Mr. Abdou Diouf, who is also chairman of the Organization of African Unity. They discussed a number of concrete issues of the development of bilateral relations. The president of Senegal praised the way in which ethnic problems are solved in Bulgaria. Mr. Ganev invited Mr. Abdou Diouf to visit Bulgaria.

During his talks with Mr. Kamil Abu-Jabir, foreign minister of Jordan, Mr. Ganev discussed bilateral relations, the Yugoslav crisis and the Middle East problem.

Romanian Environmental Declaration Refused

AU3009202292 Sofia BTA in English 1955 GMT 30 Sep 92

[Text] Ruse, September 30 (BTA)—Prof. Ivan Baychev and Florya Bold, deputy mayors of Ruse and Giurgiu, co-chairmen of the Bulgarian-Romanian Commission on the Ruse-Giurgiu environmental problems, met today. The meeting was occasioned by the expiry of the deadline, by which the Romanian side had to submit written observations on the causes for the failure of the commission's latest regular meeting in Giurgiu last Friday [25 September].

The Bulgarian side made a declaration last Friday, assessing the actions of the Romanian side as a violation of the rules of the commission's work. Bulgarian experts were not admitted to the Verachim Chemical Works and were refused information on specific questions about the pollution of Ruse's air in the last two months. On these grounds the Bulgarian side stated that unless the rules were observed, it would review its plans for participation in the commission.

Mr. Bold today presented the so-called declaration of the Romanian side of the commission, which was discussed for four hours. In spite of certain positive points, it theorizes at great length that Ruse's air is not polluted by the Giurgiu-based works, Prof. Baychev said, adding that he could not accept such a declaration. According to him, the sides should continue their joint work in a spirit of candour. That is why the Bulgarian side proposed that experts reconsider the actions of the Romanian side and present new written observations at a meeting on October 2. It should give an accurate account of the events and the true causes for the failure of last Friday's meeting.

Dimitrov Attends Agrarian Strategy Meeting

AU3009211092 Sofia BTA in English 2016 GMT 30 Sep 92

[Text] Sofia, September 30 (BTA)—Representatives of almost all interested ministries, the World Bank, Operation PHARE [Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary], the National Bank of Bulgaria, the Foreign Aid Agency and the Privatization Agency discussed a project on Bulgarian farming development strategy. The meeting was also attended by Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov.

The participants made no substantial objections to the draft programme on the reforms envisaged in Bulgarian farming over the next three years elaborated by a team of the Operation PHARE, the World Bank and the Ministry of Agricultural Development, Land Use and Land Restitution, Agricultural Minister Georgi Stoyanov told journalists. The participants approved the programme of the Agricultural Ministry for restoring ownership over 25 percent of the land by the end of this year and of 75 percent by June 1993. They also discussed the pricing and trade policy in agriculture, its financing and crediting as well as competition and marketing problems. It was agreed that agricultural producers should determine the prices at which to sell their output, Mr. John Wilton, World Bank representative in Bulgaria, told journalists. He added that this project will not deal with social issues. According to Agricultural Minister Georgi Stoyanov, the government should develop a subsidiary social programme. Preferential credits for farmers was one of the most discussed problems at the meeting. Mr. Wilton said. No decision has been reached on this issue so far, Agricultural Minister Stoyanov said. According to him, one of the possible solutions is to set up a specialized credit institution.

The report will be finalized and then presented to the Council of Ministers. If this project is realized part of the funds which the World Bank is granting Bulgaria ($300 million a year) could be used for the reforms in agriculture, the representative of the World Bank in Bulgaria, Mr. John Wilton, believes.

Text of Order No. 332 on Promoting Officers

AU3009151892 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 25 Sep 92 p 1

[Text] Order No. 332 of the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Bulgaria
Dated 25 August 1992, in the city of Sofia.

Contents: Concerns application of the Code for Classifying Posts according to rank, education, and levels of management in the organizations and component units financed from the budget, approved by Council of Ministers Decree No. 129 of 5 July 1991, when appointing or promoting officers in the Ministry of Defense and the higher military educational establishments.

I order:

1. When drafting orders for appointing or promoting military servicemen in the Ministry of Defense and in higher military educational establishments, one should strictly observe the requirements of the Code for Classifying Posts according to rank, education, and levels of management in the organizations and component units financed from the budget, approved by Council of Ministers Decree No. 129 of 5 July 1991.

Officers not possessing higher education in the sense of Decree No. 613 of 1965 are not to be appointed or promoted in this or any succeeding years.

On the basis of Articles 3, 7, and 10 of Decree No. 613 of 1965 on regulating certain rights for graduates of higher military educational establishments, persons who have completed educational studies on courses lasting at least four years are recognized as possessing higher education. Persons who have graduated from three-year military schools or schools for reserve officers are not recognized as possessing a higher education, irrespective of any subsequent study in military academies on courses of less than four years.

2. The Administration Department of the Ministry of Defense is to coordinate the conformance with the law of orders on appointing or promoting officers of the Ministry of Defense with the Legal Section of the Defense Ministry, and in the case of such orders relating to officers in higher military educational establishments, with the legal consultant of the respective Armed Service.

3. I instruct the General Staff to take into consideration the educational standard of officers in the sense of Decree No. 613 of 1956 when promoting them to the post of battalion commander or above.

I order the chief of the Cadre Section of the General Staff and the chief of the Cadre Policy Department of the Ministry of Defense to check that this order is observed.

Aleksandur Staliyski, defense minister of the Republic of Bulgaria

Order No. 332 Clarified

AU3009152892 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 25 Sep 92 p 1

[Text] Order No. 357 of the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Bulgaria
Dated 3 September 1992, in the city of Sofia

Contents: Concerns procedure for fulfilling Defense Minister's Order No. 332 of 25 August 1992.

It should be considered that Defense Minister's Order No. 332 of 25 August 1992 does not affect the rights of persons who have acquired a higher education in the sense of Article 2 of Decree No. 613 of 1965 on regulating certain rights for graduates of higher military educational establishments and schools, in Bulgaria, the USSR [as published], and other socialist countries.

Aleksandur Staliyski, defense minister of the Republic of Bulgaria.

Deputy Minister Rebuts Army Chief's Statement

AU3009151292 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 25 Sep 92 p 1

[Article by Nikola Daskalov, deputy defense minister of Bulgaria: "Principle of One-Man-Command Applies Even With a Civilian Minister"]

[Text] At a news conference held in the Sofia Press offices in Sofia on 18 September 1992, Colonel General Lyuben Petrov, chief of the Bulgarian Army General Staff, stated that Order No. 332 of the minister of defense had not come into force because he himself had not signed it, explaining that orders relating to Army personnel must be signed by the minister of defense and the chief of General Staff in order to be effective.

This statement does not correspond to the truth. The position adopted by Col. Gen. Petrov is at variance with the Law on General Military Service of 1958 that is still in force, and also contradicts the principle of one-man-command in the Army.

In view of the fact that, according to information that has reached the Ministry of Defense, Order No. 332 and Order No. 357 have not been received by all military units, and with a view to putting a stop to speculation concerning these orders, it is expedient to publish them in every newspaper issued by the Ministry of Defense.

International Trade Union Leaders Arrive

AU3009180492 Sofia BTA in English 1652 GMT 30 Sep 92

[Text] Sofia, September 30 (BTA)—The leaders of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) and the European Trade Union Confederation—Mr. Enzo Friso and Mr. Emilio Gabaglio, arrived here today. The purpose of their visit is to acquaint themselves with the work of the trade unions in Bulgaria and to express international trade union solidarity with Bulgaria's two major trade union amalgamations—the Podkrepa Trade Union Confederation and the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria (KNSB). The trade union leaders will meet President Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev and Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov.

"It was only here that we learnt about what happened at the National Social Partnership Council," Mr. Emilio Gabaglio said upon his arrival. "The decision taken by your government is unprecedented in the practice of the countries of the European Community," he stressed. The leader of the European Trade Union Confederation expressed the hope that the forthcoming meetings with the president and the prime minister will discuss and find a positive solution to this problem.

Today the National Social Partnership Council actually discontinued its work after it proved impossible to defend an increase in the salaries of teachers and medical workers before the Ministry of Finance and the leaders of the KNSB and Podkrepa walked out of the session. The KNSB will present the leaders of the two international trade union confederations with a list of 15 gross violations of trade union rights and freedoms by the state authorities, Prof. Svetoslav Stavrev, deputy chairman of the KNSB, said at a press conference on today's discontinuation of the extraordinary session of the National Social Partnership Council. He expects the international trade union leaders to express their disapproval of the attitude of the government to the trade unions before Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov. An important condition for resuming the work of the National Social Partnership Council, which according to Prof. Stavrev, will be supported by its other participants as well, is for the government to undertake to turn the decisions adopted by the council into statutory legislation. This is not an attempt at trade union dictate on the government or at placing the trade unions above the state institutions. Simply the decisions taken by the National Social Partnership Council have to be implemented, Prof. Stavrev said.

Podkrepa Supports Zhelev, Opposes SDS Deputies

AU3009190892 Sofia PODKREPA in Bulgarian 25 Sep 92 p 1

["Declaration of Podkrepa Labor Confederation Executive Council" adopted in Sofia on 24 September: "Blue Idea Is Bulgaria's Only Hope"]

[Text] Having discussed the sociopolitical situation in the Republic of Bulgaria and the attempts of a part of the leading circles to destabilize the country; having reaffirmed its steady position related to the rights and freedoms of every Bulgarian citizen and the various ethnic minorities in the country; having noted that social dialogue and partnership are the only way to reduce the increasing tension in the Republic; and having assumed moral responsibility as cofounder of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] and the basic driving force of its election victory, the Executive Council of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation declares that:

1. It assesses as correct the demands of the parliamentary faction of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS] to amend certain actions of the ruling coalition in the parliamentary, executive, and judicial branches;

2. It supports the position of Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, president of the Republic, related to the "war against all," conducted by individual representatives of the SDS. At a critical moment those people compromise the "blue [SDS] idea"—Bulgaria's only hope.

3. It adheres to the position that the only alternative that now exists for Bulgaria is to have a National Assembly chairman and a prime minister who are SDS representatives. Ignoring this political responsibility would be an act of treason toward the millions who voted with the blue ballot.

4. It finds the behavior of certain SDS people's representatives unworthy and driven by personal ambitions. The scenes that took place at the parliament in recent days were shameful and degrading.

Oleg Chulev, vice president of the SDS Labor Confederation Executive Council
24 September 1992

Trade Unions Walk Out of Talks With Government

AU3009183092 Sofia BTA in English 1447 GMT 30 Sep 92

[Tanya Tsekova report]

[Text] Sofia, September 30 (BTA)—Deputy Prime Minister and Health Care Minister Nikola Vasilev resigned from the chairmanship of the National Council for Social Partnership at today's meeting, the first after the summer recess. The council met to discuss the financing of an increase of teachers' wages but it did not get to the point. The council terminated its activity as representatives of the two most influential trade unions—the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions and the Podkrepa Labour Confederation, walked out of the meeting.

Motivating his decision, Nikola Vasilev said it would be impossible to make the Finance Ministry accept the council's decisions. He described the council as "a child born out of wedlock, which cannot grow up because it is unwanted." The National Council for Social Partnership was set up in May as a consultative body, including representatives of the cabinet, employers and the trade unions. It replaced the Tripartite Commission for the Harmonization of Interests, which had the same functions while the coalition cabinet headed by Dimitur Popov was in office. However, its decisions were compulsory for the cabinet. The dialogue between the cabinet and the trade unions was interrupted in October 1991, when the Union of Democratic Forces won the elections and Filip Dimitrov formed a cabinet, and was resumed in May.

"We have no more arguments to dissuade teachers from going on strike," said Krustyu Petkov, president of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions. Dimitur Dimov, chairman of the Teachers' Trade Union with Podkrepa, said its members would probably review their stand. The trade union yesterday said it would not go on strike and would not insist on a wage rise until year's end. However, the Teachers' Trade Union with Podkrepa insisted that wages and funds for education be increased next year and that negotiations start now. "I support the teachers' just demands," Minister of Science and Education Nikolay Vasilev, who is also deputy prime minister, said at the National Council's meeting today. The Education Ministry warned a long time ago that allocations for education were insufficient, Mr. Vasilev said, adding that he had failed to provide funds for education. He said he saw only one dignified solution but did not explicitly state he would resign.

In its refusal to increase the financing of education, the Finance Ministry cited the 1992 Budget Act, passed by parliament. Finance Minister Ivan Kostov told the press recently that municipal authorities had enough power and resources for a 26 percent wage increase to teachers and physicians but they might not distribute them properly. According to the Finance Ministry, over 50 percent of municipalities have the requisite sums. The Confederation of Independent Trade Unions claims the figure is 10 percent at the most.

This is the beginning of the end of the cabinet since two deputy prime ministers have resigned in one way or other, Krustyu Petkov said after the meeting. Significantly, both deputy prime ministers sympathize with the Podkrepa Trade Union, which has long criticized the finance minister, insisting on his resignation.

Government Proposes Talks Resumption

AU3009190192 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 30 Sep 92

[Text] An urgent meeting of the Council of Ministers took place today after the meeting of the National Council for Social Partnership was interrupted. The situation that emerged was discussed. The government instructed Deputy Prime Minister Nikola Vasilev to meet with Krustyu Petkov, chairman of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria [KNSB], and Konstantin Trenchev, president of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation. The meeting took place. During the talks that took place the deputy prime minister proposed to resume the activity of the National Council for Social Partnership, and said that Finance Minister Ivan Kostov has been instructed by the government to take part in the meeting. In the next few days the executive organs of the KNSB and the Podkrepa Labor Confederation will express their position on the governmental proposal.

Federal Assembly Discusses Devolution of Powers

LD3009142992 Prague CSTK in English 1308 GMT 30 Sep 92

[Text] Prague Sept 30 (CSTK)—The Czechoslovak parliament today began discussing amendments to the law on power-sharing, under which further federal powers will be delegated to the Czech and Slovak republics.

The first draft amendment, defining federal powers concerning internal order and security and the media, gives the republics the power to investigate crimes against the security of the state. The Federal Interior Ministry would only gather information essential for protecting the constitutional system and state security in relation to foreign countries.

Legal regulations concerning Czechoslovak radio, Czechoslovak television and the Czechoslovak news agency would cease to be valid on the day designated by another federal parliament law for the transfer of property, rights and obligations to the Czech and Slovak bodies.

The second draft amendment provides for the reduction of central bodies of state administration. The current 15 ministries would be reduced to five and the powers would devolve on the republics. Explaining the principles of the draft amendment, Federal Deputy Premier Milan Cic (of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia) said it will be necessary to change the law on Czechoslovakia's defence, the law on the federation's budgetary rules, the customs law, laws on economic contacts with foreign countries, on prices, wages, passports, on protection of economic cooperation and so on.

The draft amendment enables the republics to conclude bilateral international agreements concerning, for instance, protection of the atmosphere and waters, and civil defence. The federation's powers would include legislation on the production, distribution and consumption of electricity, gas and heat, while railway transport and post offices would come under republic administration. Laws on and state supervision over the safety of nuclear installations and the peaceful use of nuclear materials would remain in the federation's jurisdiction.

The main subject of debate on the first draft amendment was the surviving state monopoly on film-making. The postwar decree nationalising the film industry, issued by Czechoslovak President Edvard Benes is still effective, meaning that private film-making and distribution are illegal. Federal parliament Vice Chair Pavel Jajtner (Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party) said after the debate that voting on the draft amendment will take place Thursday.

In the debate on the second draft amendment, Deputy Zdenek Jicinsky of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party (CSSD) asked when the government will present bills which are required by the draft amendment. He said the government has succumbed to legal nihilism as the abolition of some state bodies began even before the respective legislation was adopted by the federal parliament. According to Jicinsky the January 1, 1993 deadline for dissolving Czechoslovakia is not feasible as legislation guaranteeing it takes place in a constitutional manner cannot be passed by then.

Deputy Karel Kobes (CSSD) criticised the draft amendment for devolving the powers of the Federal Ministry of Inspection And Auditing on the Federal Finance Ministry. The latter would then oversee itself, and possibly impose fines on itself, he added.

Meciar on Formation of Slovak Defense Ministry

LD3010234592 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 1900 GMT 30 Sep 92

[Text] Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar pointed out today that one more ministry was yet to be formed in Slovakia, the Slovak Ministry of Defense. At the same time, he added that it had to be created so that control over security and the Army, concentrated in one pair of hands, would not be reminiscent of Chile. [as heard] According to Meciar, the structure of the new ministry would not copy the existing Federal Army command. There would be no General Staff Corps or districts. We shall unite these components to decrease the number of officers needed for this work, said the Slovak prime minister.

Meciar Outlines Ideas About Slovak-German Treaty

AU3009171592 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 29 Sep 92 p 12

[Interview with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by an unidentified KORIDOR reporter; place and date not given: "The Good Services of the FRG"—reprinted from issue No. 175 of Slovak daily KORIDOR]

[Text] Bilateral talks with German politicians are of key importance from Slovakia's viewpoint. What is it that you appreciate most about these talks?—KORIDOR No. 175 asked Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar.

[Meciar] I consider it important that we explained Slovakia's intentions and the political situation in the CSFR and our ideas on future development. We met with understanding on their part. I asked for their assurance that we will be recognized and accepted in the contractual commitments concluded thus far. The response was positive.

[KORIDOR] How satisfied are you with the talks on economic cooperation with Bavaria?

[Meciar] The important thing for us right now is the establishment of the banking system, particularly the establishment of the state bank, the Slovak central bank, and the position of the currency vis-a-vis the German mark. That is, not only the ratio of our currency and the Czech currency is important, but also its ratio vis-a-vis the German mark. We also need to establish a structure

of commercial banks. In my talks with [Bavarian Minister of Economy and Transport] Mr. Lang we explored ways to speed up some investment projects in Slovakia with German participation. We pinpointed companies that are interested in participating in the development of the power-generating industry in Slovakia. More specifically, we spoke about Mochovce, the Zilina power station, and about gas. There is interest in the transit of gas from Russia to Germany [via Slovakia]. We also discussed cooperation in East Slovakia, for example between Siemens and MEZ Michalovce. We agreed that before the end of the year we are going to organize Days of Slovak-Bavarian Economic Cooperation, which might be extended to Baden-Wuertemberg.

[KORIDOR] What is the German partners' view of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros problem?

[Meciar] The incident provoked by Hungarian Prime Minister Antall on the occasion of the festive opening of the Rhine-Main-Danube canal played a very important role. He achieved the opposite effect from that which he intended. Instead of generating sympathy, he evoked people's indignation, disfavor, and disagreement. The result was that I subsequently met with Federal Transport Minister Krause to discuss the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros project. He offered his good services, personal mediation in the dispute between Slovakia and Hungary. He said that he would discuss this issue with Helmut Kohl in the Federal Government and would ask the chancellor to take it up personally. He offered, furthermore, that the builders of the Rhine-Main-Danube canal come to Slovakia at the expense of the FRG Government and work out a project for a definitive solution to Gabcikovo-Nagymaros so that neither side loses face and the project can be implemented. This does not rule out the possibility of a similar cooperation with the EC but the FRG wants to work very quickly.

[KORIDOR] How did the German hosts assess the incident?

[Meciar] The German side assesses particularly negatively the fact that it occurred at a ceremony celebrating their project.

[KORIDOR] During the bilateral Slovak-Bavarian talks, the issue of modifying the German-Czechoslovak treaty was also raised.

[Meciar] At issue are the recognition of the Slovak Republic, which we resolved relatively quickly, and mutual relations after 1 January 1993. As the Czechoslovak-German treaty was accompanied by objections from both the Slovak and Bavarian sides, it is only logical that we consulted each other on our attitude toward this treaty. On the one side are costs connected with the transfer of Germans and on the other our costs connected with war damages. Apart from this, there is the still pending problem of Slovakia's war loans, which have not been repaid to this day. In other words, if we want to deal with the issue of compensation, it must be compensation of both sides based on a principle that can resolve this matter in a relatively decent manner.

[KORIDOR] Does that mean that we would move the restitution deadline for Germans to the pre-1948 period?

[Meciar] But that means that we would return to the pre-1948 period also regarding compensation for damaged citizens of the Slovak Republic—for war damages, burned villages, lost lives, concentration camps, and all the rest.

We do not want to harm the interests of the Czech Republic; the German-Slovak treaty must not be directed against Czech or any other interests.

Slovak Republic To Assume CSFR Obligations

LD0110082892 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 2100 GMT 29 Sep 92

[Text] The Slovak Republic as the subject of international law will assume all obligations and treaties of the Czechoslovak Federation which also applies to the treaty with Germany. This was stated for Czechoslovak Television by Milan Knazko, Slovak vice prime minister and foreign minister. He thus reacted to the statement issued by the German Government according to which the Czechoslovak-German treaty should come into force before the division of our Federation. Should the Slovak Government reject it then it will not have any treaty with Germany. Milan Knazko added that the Czech and Slovak Republic are as yet not a subject of international law and for this reason they cannot interfere in talks about the treaty. The German Sunday newspaper WELT AM SONTAG wrote on 27 September, with reference to Hans Schumacher, spokesman of the Federal Foreign Ministry, that the German Government does not want separate treaties with the Czech lands and Slovakia in the interest of regulating bilateral relations.

Compensation Requested for UN Sanction Losses

LD3010224392 Prague CSTK in English 1038 GMT 30 Sep 92

[Text] New York Sept 30 (CSTK correspondent)—Czechoslovakia has officially asked the chairman of the U.N. Security Council for consultations on requesting the alleviation of economic losses caused by its embargo against Serbia and Montenegro.

Stefan Fule, spokesman for the Czechoslovak Mission to the United Nations, told CSTK that Czechoslovakia's overall economic losses due to the embargo are estimated to reach 256 million USd [U.S. dollars] by the end of this year.

Although the U.N. Charter provides for compensation for losses such as these, there is little hope that the request will be granted. One of the reasons is the U.N.'s lack of money due to a lack of contributions by some of its member states.

Interior Minister Discusses Intelligence Service

LD2909162392 Prague Stanice Praha Radio Network in Czech 1430 GMT 29 Sep 92

[Text] Czechoslovakia is not conducting any active espionage activities against other countries, Federal Interior Minister Petr Cermak stressed at a news conference in Prague today. He said at the same time that a concept of intelligence services of the Czech Republic should be drafted within two weeks. Concerning the possible division of assets of the Federal Interior Ministry, he said that there are many assets in which neither republic is interested and he also thinks that any other problems than technical are unlikely to arise when it will come to division of archives.

Petr Cermak also admitted that it will not be possible to divide the crime archives. Both sides could be making use of them on an agreed basis. The federal interior minister voiced his belief that the division of Czechoslovakia could take place before 31 December. The effort to slow down the process of division of the state could in fact result in bringing the date forward.

Minister Discusses Trade After Division

AU3009174592 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 29 Sep 92 p 6

[Interview with Jiri Brabec, CSFR First Deputy Foreign Trade Minister, by Petr Korbel; place and date not given: "A Union or Free Trade?"]

[Text] [Korbel] According to the agreement reached by the Civic Democratic Party and the Movement For a Democratic Slovakia, we are heading for partition at the beginning of next year. We asked CSFR First Deputy Foreign Trade Minister Jiri Brabec whether trade between the Czech and Slovak Republics will then be subject to the same rules as other foreign trade.

[Brabec] The moment two independent states evolve from the current CSFR, their mutual trade will become foreign trade and—of course—will be subject to the same rules as trade with the rest of the world. To ensure that this situation causes as few problems as possible in mutual relations between Czech and Slovak enterprises—bound by many ties within the framework of the CSFR's integrated economy—the conclusion of an agreement on a specific form of integration, with the proviso that the agreement would come into effect virtually in tandem with the state's partition, is being taken into consideration. This may involve an agreement on free trade or a customs union, while it is apparent from the statements by political representatives that priority is being given to a customs union as a higher level of integration.

A customs union concluded by two or more states means that no duties or nontariff measures are implemented in mutual trade involving these states; the union then acts as a single unit with a single trade policy in trade with other states. This means the same import duties, the same customs procedures, the same nontariff measures, and the same veterinary, technical, and other regulations associated with trade are applied to everyone outside the customs union regardless of which union member is involved in the import or export operation. So this can function, the participants in the customs union must establish an administrative body to which—as a rule—they will transfer their jurisdiction in the sphere of trade policy.

An agreement on free trade fulfills only the first part of the function of a customs union, that is, eliminating duties and nontariff measures in mutual trade; however, trade policy—and duties imposed on other countries—may be different for the individual participants in such an agreement. That is, it involves a considerably lower level of integration than in a customs union.

[Korbel] It is said that we should abolish duties between the Czech and Slovak Republics. However, why should we abolish duties if they do not exist?

[Brabec] The moment two states evolve—states that will both certainly want to become GATT signatories—these two states will have to indiscriminately impose their customs tariff rates on everyone, including each other. If we do not want to impose duties on each other, we have to abolish them the moment they are introduced. This can only be done by concluding an agreement on free trade or on a customs union. Of course, we will have to submit such an agreement to the GATT signatories for approval and convince them that this is really functional integration and not unilateral preference placing the others at a disadvantage. From the point of view of introducing and abolishing mutual duties, the issue in our case involves—consequently—a certain legal fiction. However, it is necessary to realize that in our case—in comparison to all the other well known agreements on free trade or a customs union—the issue does not involve an integration process, but—on the contrary—the disintegration of a single federal state economy into two independent economies. Therefore, our procedures cannot be completely standard.

[Korbel] What other stumbling blocks may arise when forming a customs union?

[Brabec] I do not know whether a customs union or a free trade zone will be established. These are not the same from the point of view of the external world and from the point of view of the level of integration. A customs union assumes that the same trade policy and the same duties will be applied to the surrounding world. This requires the establishment of a common body to make decisions within the framework of the union. Having the same trade policy also means using the same method to resolve a number of operative matters. For instance, if our industry were threatened and we were forced to implement Article 24 of GATT or to introduce certain extraordinary measures to protect our economy, both parts of the union would have to do the same thing. A number of other issues, for example, licensing proceedings, would

be dealt with in the same way. There has to be a body to which both governments will entrust part of their jurisdiction and to which they will subordinate themselves. Let me give you an example: The European Community recently imposed sanctions on our steel exports. The sanctions were imposed at the request of France, Italy, and Germany. These countries, despite the fact that no one doubts their sovereignty and independence, could not do anything themselves, because they had entrusted execution of their trade policy to a common body—the EC Commission. Otherwise, I would like to emphasize that the EC is the only truly functioning customs union in the world. All the others are free trade agreements.

A common body could be the main stumbling block in forming a customs union. I do not know whether it will be acceptable to our political representatives to transfer jurisdiction in the sphere of trade policy to this common body. It is a condition, nevertheless, without which a customs union cannot function.

[Korbel] What would be more advantageous from the point of view of a treaty with the EC and the European Free Trade Association [EFTA] and other agreements?

[Brabec] Without doubt a customs union. This has been made clear to us by both these integrations. The CSFR has concluded an internal agreement with the EC that already gives our exporters a number of advantages, but it expires on 31 December 1992. It seems the only mutually viable solution is to extend this agreement's validity to gain scope for conducting talks on two agreements with the EC—one for the Czech Republic and one for the Slovak Republic. This extension would be easier (not, however, absolutely simple) if the Czech and Slovak Republics were to continue to act as a single unit from the point of view of trade policy. A customs union would guarantee this.

[Korbel] How will this affect our membership in GATT?

[Brabec] The CSFR is the current signatory. Its membership in GATT will come to an end the moment the federation comes to an end. The newly evolved states, the Czech and Slovak Republics, will have to apply for membership. A vote will be held to determine whether their application is successful. Two-thirds in favor is necessary for acceptance. Acceptance will be made considerably easier if the governments of the two new republics declare that they will take on all of the CSFR's trade and political undertakings, including its customs rates.

GATT will—naturally—verify whether our plans for forming a free trade zone or a customs union correspond to the rules of the general agreement on tariffs and trade. From this point of view, these plans represent a certain hurdle in our approach to GATT as the appropriate analyses will take time. Nevertheless, the benefits from these integrative measures outweigh the accompanying complications. However, this is one of the reasons why the Czech and Slovak Governments should announce their decision in this sphere as soon as possible and (sufficiently prior to the state's breakup) immediately begin negotiations with GATT, the EC, and EFTA.

[Korbel] Will there be customs on the border between the Czech and Slovak Republics?

[Brabec] I think there will be. This will be a friendly border serving record-keeping purposes more than protection, albeit that certain protective operations cannot be excluded even in a well functioning customs union. An example of this is the EC which, for a number of years, has represented an integrative process substantially greater than a simple customs union, but—despite this—is only now preparing to eliminate customs borders. It is possible, however, to envisage (rather like an imaginary experiment) a customs union without an internal customs border. In this case, a number of other integrative measures would have to be implemented, some of which I think it would be rather hard to implement at the moment. All of these issues are currently under intense discussion and experts on both sides are drafting proposals, but it is too early to draw any conclusions.

Authorities Impede Operation of Hungarian College

AU3009192592 Bratislava SLOVENSKY DENNIK in Slovak 28 Sep 92 p 4

[Interview with Komarno Mayor Stefan Pasztor by Katarina Ottova; place and date not given: "University"]

[Excerpts] [Ottova] The recently published information about the founding of the Komarno City University has caused a commotion. What is your view of the general situation?

[Pasztor] In a resolution passed on 16 July 1992, deputies of Komarno Municipality established the City University as a subsidized organization with its own legal status. This type of a city university is well known in our country, as the examples of Bratislava and Poprad show, as an establishment providing various types of adult education. We have sent the founding charter to the Bratislava Regional Court and are awaiting its reply. The university cannot start operating before it is registered. I would also like to specify that the Schola Comaromiensis (Komarno School) Foundation, about which there has been some confusion, is properly registered. It has been established by the City of Komarno, Csemadok [Hungarian minority's cultural organization], and the Union of Hungarian Teachers. Its assignment is to raise funds for education; decisions on allocating these funds are made by the Board of Trustees. The City University, the same as other subjects, must correctly apply for contributions. [passage omitted]

[Ottova] The school administration is of the opinion that the Komarno City University is the case of a foreign institution of higher learning operating on our territory or, more precisely, of allocated [elokovane] classes of two

Hungarian universities operating here without legalization and approval of the Slovak Ministry of Education.

[Pasztor] This is what Mr. Pius claims. (Mario Pius, director of School Administration in Bratislava VII—editor's note). I disagree with him. The same as other city universities, we want to provide education on the basis of agreements. Naturally, also on the basis of agreements with foreign partners. The Pedagogical Institute in Gyor has accepted 50 applicants from southern Slovakia for correspondence courses and the University of Kecskemet has accepted another 30 students from southern Slovakia for its department of horticulture and viticulture. The only problem is that we do not want these students to have to travel to Hungary but want their teachers to come here, which would substantially reduce the cost of accommodation and transportation. Incidentally, the wage costs and other costs are naturally covered by the Hungarian side. Mr. Pius has barred secondary schools from leasing out their classes for this activity, so we had to resort to an alternative solution, which is the recreational facility at Dudince. In my opinion, we need not apply for a permit from the Ministry of Education to do this.

[Ottova] Who is the tenant of these premises?

[Pasztor] The school in Gyor. As soon as the City University becomes a legal entity, it can start renting these premises itself. [passage omitted]

[Ottova] Are the diplomas of the Gyor and Kecskemet universities valid in our country?

[Pasztor] Yes, on the basis of valid international agreements, unless a new university law is passed that will change them.

[Ottova] What about the teachers? Do they require a license to be able to teach on the territory of another state?

[Pasztor] But the students are members of the same university as the lecturers.... [passage omitted]

[Ottova] Why did you turn to the Pedagogical Institute in Gyor? After all, there is a Faculty of Education in Nitra training teachers for Hungarian schools in Slovakia.

[Pasztor] We want to overcome the growing shortage of teachers for the first four grades of elementary schools using Hungarian as the language of instruction. Because in two years of negotiations with the Faculty of Education in Nitra we did not succeed in changing the situation and increasing the number of graduates, we started to look for help elsewhere. I suppose that this is no great sin, given the fact that in three to four years we will acquire university graduates at virtually no cost. [passage omitted]

[Ottova] The students study in Hungary. Will they have no problem teaching according to the curriculum valid in Slovakia?

[Pasztor] I am not a teacher, but I do not think so. I am sure that the Union of Hungarian Teachers, which organized this form of study, made sure that the future graduates do not find themselves in an unsolvable situation.

Aide Denies Havel Treated for Alcoholism

AU3009143992 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 25 Sep 92 p 2

[CSTK report: "A False Accusation"]

[Text] Prague—Vaclav Havel has never been treated in any alcoholism clinic, said the former Czechoslovak president's personal secretary, Vladimir Hanzel, to a CSTK reporter yesterday in connection with the claim made by Czech National Council Deputy Jaroslav Novak (Association For the Republic-Republican Party of Czechoslovakia) that Vaclav Havel was a patient at the alcoholism treatment clinic in Zeliva in the Pelhrimov District. Jaroslav Novak's claim was published in 24 September's CESKY DENIK. The former Czechoslovak president's personal secretary described it as completely untrue. He also said that, in connection with the article in CESKY DENIK, Vaclav Havel has decided to submit a complaint in accordance with the law on the protection of the private individual. In an interview granted to a CSTK reporter today, Jaroslav Novak said that Vaclav Havel's treatment for alcohol dependence at the clinic in Zeliva was confirmed by a former State Security officer whom he spoke to in his capacity as a member of the civic commission attached to the Czech Interior Ministry in the Pelhrimov District.

Antall Reiterates Opposition to Bos Project

LD3009025292 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0805 GMT 27 Sep 92

[Text] It is impossible not to mention Bos when talking about Hungarian-Slovak relations, so it is no coincidence that Jozsef Antall considered it necessary to mention the subject as a new source of conflict in his speech, which he delivered at the opening of the Danube-Rhine-Main canal.

Gyoergy Bernath asked the prime minister about his reasons for the speech at the scene:

[Begin recording] [Bernath] Together with my colleagues, we met Jozsef Antall and asked him about his speech—which had an extremely resolute tone—contrary to the festive atmosphere. At the same time, we heard that the Prague Government had sent a reply letter. Was the tough speech in connection with the content of that letter?

[Antall] The reply letter practically repeats the earlier Czechoslovak stance: they do not recognize the cessation of the '77 state agreement. They take cognizance of the investigation of the European Community, and they are willing to participate in it, and they do not acknowledge that the diversion of the Danube, or the partial diversion of the Danube, would mean a border violation. I think it would be hypocritical of me if, in the presence of the countries of the Danube, when debating the entire waterway system of the Danube-Rhine-Main, at such an opportunity, I pretended there is not a single problem in the world. Therefore, emphasizing goodwill and good neighborliness, I consider it natural to talk about the problems also. I am very proud that even some of the foreign press, who are not necessarily sympathetic toward me, wrote that I am strong, tough, but predictable. So I am going to keep it that way.

[Bernath] Mr. Prime Minister, we have just talked to Bavarian Prime Minister Max Streibl, who said he is ready to mediate between the parties. Would you accept this mediation?

[Antall] Naturally, we Hungarians accept any mediation and investigation, but for the Hungarian Government to decide differently, the Hungarian National Assembly has to modify the earlier resolution. Thus, this is not up to the competence of the government, that is, to change the Hungarian stance, but following the forming of an appropriate system of arguments and appropriate investigations, the Hungarian National Assembly can modify its stance if it considers this justified. [end recording]

Antall Still Optimistic

LD3010212692 Budapest MTI in English 1239 GMT 29 Sep 92

[Text] Budapest, September 29 (MTI)—"Hungary still hopes to reach a mutually satisfactory agreement on the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros dam question and avoid diverting the Danube," states Prime Minister Jozsef Antall in his letter, which was handed to Czechoslovak Prime Minister Jan Strasky on Tuesday [29 September].

The letter was outlined to journalists by Foreign Affairs Spokesman Janos Herman during his Tuesday briefing.

In the letter, Antall noted with regret Czechoslovakia's reluctance to refer the matter to the Hague International Court jointly with Hungary.

He pointed out the need to form a trilateral committee involving the European Community for settling dam-related disputes between the two countries. Hungary agreed to the conditions set by European Commission President Hans Adriessen. Antall asked Strasky to draw up the partners' joint application for setting up the committee, and send it to Brussels, as soon as possible.

The 1977 inter-state agreement on the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros barrage system drew widespread criticism for its environmental and ecological shortcomings even at the time of its conclusion.

A movement to protect the Danube and stop work on the dam originated in Hungary, and the government of Miklos Nemeth declared Hungary's intention to abandon the project, and to do its utmost to restore ecological damage.

In April 1992, the Slovak Government announced that it would start up the Gabcikovo dam later this year, the power station having already generated electricity during pilot testing in early September.

Germany Offers Help

LD3010225192 Budapest MTI in English 0830 GMT 30 Sep 92

[Text] Bonn, September 30 (MTI)—In an effort to ease tensions in the Hungarian-Slovak dispute about the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros twin-dam project, Germany has offered hydrological experts to suggest alternative technical solutions, with the possible involvement of the EC, a spokesman of the German Transport Ministry told MTI.

Earlier, the German news agency DPA reported that "KORIDOR," a paper close to the Slovak Government, had quoted Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar as saying that German Transport Minister Guenther Krause had offered German mediation to help settle the dispute.

Spokesman Gert-Jurgen Scholz said that the role of Krause as a mediator was limited to an attempt at reconciliation, after Hungarian Prime Minster Jozsef Antall's speech in Nuremberg at the opening of the Danube-Rhine-Main canal provoked "a sense of irritation," primarily among the Slovak delegation.

Outlining Hungary's position in the dispute, Antall "caused a surprise to the German side," the spokesman said.

In an effort to ease the bad humour that developed on a ship tour of the new canal, Krause talked with the Czechoslovak delegates and suggested that German hydrological experts could take part in the elaboration of alternative technical solutions, with the possible involvement of the European Community.

Hungarian Government spokesman Balazs Laszlo told "MAGYAR HIRLAP" that in principle Hungary would welcome any assistance.

Concerning the remarks that Antall's speech "marred the feast," the spokesman declined to make any comment since he was not present at the event.

He added, however, that the speech was an important warning. "The international public and all the Danube states should know that the project built on a common section of the river generates tension between the two countries."

Jeszenszky, Ghali Discuss Reopening Adria Pipeline

LD0110210392 Budapest MTI in English 1953 GMT 29 Sep 92

[Text] Washington, September 29 (MTI)—Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky on Tuesday [29 September] asked UN Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali for the United Nations to do even more to settle the crisis in Yugoslavia, and to help reopen the Adria oil pipeline connecting Hungary with the Adriatic Sea.

The minister told MTI he had given the secretary-general Hungary's view on the Gabcikovo hydroelectric project. Jeszenszky said to the secretary-general the Hungarian Government appreciated UN efforts to settle the crisis. He added, however, that it might be wise for the UN forces' mandate to be modified, so they could do their job more efficiently. He thought UN forces should not be passive observers—they should contribute to restoring order and the pre-war situation in areas under their control. Jeszenszky mentioned east Croatia and south Baranya as areas where the ideas of UN envoy Cyrus Vance were being realised very slowly. Hungary also suffers since many inhabitants of these regions were refugees here.

Jeszenszky asked the UN to take resolute action to reopen the Adria oil pipeline—closed because of the war last year. In a UN-supervised area, a short section of the pipeline is still controlled by paramilitary forces. Reopening the pipeline, vital for trade links between Central Europe and the Middle East, was in the interests of Austria and Czechoslovakia too, he said.

In reply to the question whether Hungary backed easing the UN embargo on Serbia, Jeszenszky said that, for humanitarian reasons, Budapest supported Belgrade's request for lifting the embargo on the delivery of fuel required for the heating of schools and nurseries. The Belgrade Government, he said, was honour-bound not to use the fuel for other purposes.

Csurka Compares Two Recent Demonstrations

AU3009184892 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 29 Sep 92 p 1

["L.L.J."-signed report: "Csurka: Referring to Extremism Is Nothing But a Political Trick—He Does Not Want To Organize a New Party"]

[Text] It is not true that any kind of extremism was threatening from this side; this is nothing but a well-tested political trick, Istvan Csurka, deputy chairman of the Hungarian Democratic Forum said at the party's political forum in Zuglo [area in Budapest] on 28 September. Analyzing the demonstrations of the past weeks, he came to the conclusion that people have not yet examined why they had actually gone into the streets. According to Csurka, in addition to dissatisfaction with the media leadership and support for a government measure, the masses basically took to the streets because they were dissatisfied with the extent of the system's change. The participants of the first demonstration were fuelled by the conviction that, even under current circumstances, there is a possibility to implement a change of the system more firmly. He said that removing irregularities surrounding privatization, compensation matters, the return of church property, and the problems of the mass media were the most burning issues. Csurka thought that people who are amply satisfied with the extent of the changes participated in the second demonstration because they are afraid that, through further changes, they may lose everything they have gained precisely under this government. Csurka called it a serious mistake that people were not called to account and the responsible people were not named. He stated that, if the government does not manage to make the media unbiased, then the uninformed people will act the same way at the next elections as such people have recently acted in Romania. He also said that refusing to publish the advertisement of the Hungarian Way Foundation was a communist impertinence. He did not want to launch a new party through this foundation, but rather, he wanted to gain as much support for the national center as possible.

MDF Liberals Discuss Csurka's Views

AU3009163892 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 25 Sep 92 p 7

["Roundtable discussion" with Imre Furmann, Hungarian Democratic Forum deputy chairman; Tibor Balazsi and Jozsef Debreczeni, party members; Zoltan Krasznai; and Denes Maros; place and date not given: "The Cause of the Nation and Democracy Are Inseparable—MAGYAR NEMZET Roundtable Discussion with Tibor Balazsi, Jozsef Debreczeni, and Imre Furmann on Preventing the Political Crisis"]

[Text] The initiators of the Liberal Forum Foundation are calling for the establishment of national liberal circles. In our 24 September issue, we published this appeal, whose political principles state the following: "The national feelings that exist in Hungarian society in millions of shades are the only thing that can serve the success of our great pragmatic enterprises." They are asking anyone who agrees with these aims "to support the foundation and take steps to link liberal democracy and national values, and to represent this in a more organized way." Of the signatories of the appeal, Imre Furmann, Tibor Balazsi, and Jozsef Debreczeni answered the questions of Chief Editor Zoltan Krasznai and Domestic Politics Editor Denes Maros.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] According to the statements following the faction meeting in Balatonkenese, the Hungarian Democratic Forum's [MDF] group of deputies have to be held together until the 1994 elections. Has Istvan Csurka withdrawn anything from his study or Jozsef Debreczeni from the condemnation of it? Are the views perhaps unchanged? Is there a coexistence but no agreement?

[Balazsi] The discussion in Balatonkenese also proved that everyone had considered everything and did not withdraw anything. We are compelled to, and it is necessary to stay together until 1994—this is what we also say—but this does not only depend on us. We can quote something from the Kenese events to prove this. On Friday [18 September] afternoon, we could still consider signing the ethical minimum on internal debates. This became impossible by Sunday because Csurka had published his appeal for the Hungarian Way Foundation and had made a speech at the antimedia demonstration, certainly without prior knowledge or support of the MDF's presidium. Therefore, Csurka's march forward was continuing, and there is no hope that this fight will end or take a different direction in the coming months.

An Attempt To Monopolize the MDF

[Debreczeni] Let me remind you of the establishment of the MDF. It was set up as a gathering party of various ideologies, political cultures, and styles. After winning at the elections, its goal was to preserve, as a program party, its multicolored nature. There are three main tendencies in the party's program, namely the popular national, Christian democratic, and national liberal. Polarization occurred because the tendency marked by Csurka wanted to increasingly monopolize the party. In spite of all distancing statements, Csurka is consistently working to homogenize the MDF. We think that the national liberal tendency will be suitable in counterbalancing this. Our maximum goal could be that we stay together as a pragmatic organization, but it is not good to talk about unity anymore.

[Furmann] The clarification of the liberal, Christian, and national values is not the only thing missing. Having to clarify what the market economy, the constitutional state, and parliamentary democracy mean for us is a more important and practical task. I do not think the other parliamentary parties have gone beyond this, either. We should publish the contents of the tendencies in points and legal provisions as soon as possible. The answers to precise questions will reveal who is actually a liberal, a Christian democrat, or a socialist. People's attitudes can be made clear by what kind of education law, privatization, or social net we will have and what stand people will take in the debate on the abortion bill. In the legislation process, the MDF and other factions will have to decide what views they represent.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] The responsibility to govern makes it understandable that the faction stays together. However, is there a place for both the "Nazi ideological principles" and national liberalism, or putting it more sharply, the national-socialist and the national liberal tendencies in the MDF?

[Debreczeni] In Csurka's study, we can find the standard principles of the Nazi ideology but not a complete national-socialist program. Therefore, the MDF does not have a national-socialist tendency. Whether the party stays together will be decided at the national meeting. The faction members can experience the responsibility of governing every day but this does not apply to the membership. The question is whether Csurka will do the tearing test on the participants of the meeting. If he does not then we can still stay together.

[Balazsi] To judge this more skeptically, the events of some days or weeks can create a new situation. The media law can be such a tearing test, for example.

[Furmann] I find it too early to assess the chances. We are about to create important laws—including those that require a two-thirds majority. The right of decision is with the factions and, in Parliament, there are no unbridgeable differences in the views for example on the market economy. Our party does not have a quasi-central committee that would force itself on the deputies. Good parliamentary work in turn has an effect on the party's membership. This is one of the reasons I do not think the party's division is likely.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] Csurka's former radical utterances met with a slight condemnation, but his demands were later fulfilled in a milder form through gentler means. Following Csurka, the center party shifted to the right. At the same time, there is nothing really new in the Csurka study because he had already spoken or written about the main principles previously, except for the passage on the prime minister's health and having the media chairmen led away by police.... Why was it this that triggered off the opposition? A number of people left the Monopoly group because of the studies by Csurka and Zacsek [author of a study similar to that of Csurka's]. What new quality could be found in the study?

[Debreczeni] Csurka had statements that could be misunderstood, or ones that could not at all be misunderstood, on the Jews; he made antidemocratic gestures and

played on the overheated national feelings, and all this is really dangerous when made into a system. I note that Csurka is so much of an instinctive politician that he may not have realized the consequences of fitting the mosaic pieces together. On the other hand, this is the first time he tried to turn his ideas into the MDF's program, even at the cost of removing the party's leadership and its chairman. This is a qualitative change.

[Balazsi] Program and power aspiration together, ideology and the need to seize power are the new factors in the study. I am referring to the demand that the party leave the government.

[Debreczeni] Which indirectly proves that Csurka has not been a factor that influenced government up to now.

[Balazsi] It is very hard to qualify the fact that a government-party deputy advocates a party that is to leave the government, for distinctly selfish motives. The least one must do is to say no to it.

[Furmann] We spoke up on the Csurka-pamphlet early and rather loudly. In addition, we did not only speak to the MDF members. The last few days' events justified our suspicion that, rather than a single study, democracy is the issue here. Rather than a party matter, this is an issue affecting Hungarian society.

[Balazsi] The fact that many people who were active in politics in 1989-90 have since withdrawn and do not wish to take on a political role is a great loss to our public life. The road to cabinet policy by the political elite has been opened—naturally, always referring to the will of the people in everything, while the gulf between the elite and the masses is growing. Together with others, we noticed the trouble that we know we cannot cure on our own, therefore, we are seeking help if people think we deserve it—to protect democracy.

The Trap of Transition

[MAGYAR NEMZET] Do Csurka and his followers endanger democracy? It seems that the quiet summer period recruited members for him, and new or old players appeared on the scene who before had been seen elsewhere. Are they the potential people to implement the program? Is this the reason for the appeal and the call to society?

[Debreczeni] People expected a lot from the change of the regime—increased living standards, quick redress of the 40 years' afflictions, and so on. They are disappointed because the process is slower and more difficult. Some of them are susceptible to radical solutions that discard parliamentary democracy. Csurka became the standard-bearer for these people, and he is recruiting supporters through his foundation. Intellectuals who have withdrawn into the civilian sphere, and people who actively worked for a change of regime should realize that we are drifting toward a political crisis, and they are needed here to help prevent it. Fortunately, the signals are coming that an increasing number of people are rising up.

[Furmann] We as MDF members are obliged also to talk about the achievements of the Antall government and Antall's politics. We must at least say that the difficult transition has so far progressed in a socially stable situation. I am pleased that the other parliamentary parties are not misusing the justified dissatisfaction and are not trying to find popularity through demagogy. The left- or right-wing extremism endangers our joining up with Europe—as opposed to parliamentarism that advocates agreement and obeys legal boundaries.

[Balazsi] We cannot avoid talking about the responsibility of the deputies and parliament when mentioning dissatisfaction. We talk about the willingness to agree, openness, empathy, while the viewers of parliamentary broadcasts can see that we have been unable to come up with a media law for 18 months now. It is natural for demagogy to gain ground when people perceive our incomprehensible debates as wasting time. They can say: "We had enough of you, let us go to the streets!" We must, as soon as possible, prove spectacularly that we are not only talking about our political ideas, but we are also implementing them.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] The program of Csurka's Hungarian Way has a weird resemblance to the third way that was often discussed and discarded in the early days of the MDF. It is against modernization, which fits in well with the authoritarian efforts and the aggressive elimination of democracy. However, how can it be reconciled with the liberal modernization views represented by you? Is it at all possible to find a common point?

[Debreczeni] I doubt that this is possible anymore. As a matter of fact, Csurka has nothing to do with the true values of the popular thought, namely with Bibo, Laszlo Nemeth, Zoltan Szabo, or even Imre Szabo.

[Balazs] Let us go beyond Csurka because the issue is much more complex. I could even call it the trap of the transitional period in Eastern-Central Europe. According to many people, the per capita GDP [Gross Domestic Product] of about $3,000 represents an insecure element for democracy. We must preserve stability and bourgeois democracy until the economy takes an upward turn. In such a strained situation, people are occupied with distribution and their subsistence problems. They are prone to demagogy because they find it difficult to digest the fact that the market economy does not equalize; on the contrary. In other words, the rich become even richer, and the poor become even poorer. If we get into a Weimar-like situation and we face the danger of chaos and dictatorship, we will lose all our chances to catch up with the rest of the world. The developed world will turn away from us if the serious crisis eliminates democracy.

[Furmann] One of the shortcomings of the government and the politicians is that there is no continuous contact

with the voters. We failed to make people understand and accept a lot of things. Forecasts speak of 1 million unemployed. Have we already told people that they are not useless people for this country and that their activity so far, rather than themselves, has become useless?

The Race for Social Basis

[MAGYAR NEMZET] Almost one year ago, the Democratic Charter drew attention to the sensitivity of our democracy. You did not agree with them at the time. Their current appeal also calls for the defense of the endangered democracy. Is it possible that you will now be natural allies with the "Charter people"?

[Debreczeni] At that time, I regarded the Charter's theses as exaggerating the danger. The situation has changed considerably today.

[Balazsi] The fact that we seemed to regard the Charter activity as an intention of the opposition to monopolize democracy only increased our aversion at the time, an aversion to the expression of the useless pair of opposite views according to which the MDF is the carrier of national values by underestimating democracy, and the opposition is the defender of Europeanism and democracy by disregarding the national values. This contradiction is obviously wrong and senseless.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] What is the proposal of the national liberals for a solution? How can we extricate ourselves from this political war, if we may call it such?

[Balazsi] I cannot accept the word "war" for the current situation even in quotation marks. War means explosion and violence, while our task is to gradually and peacefully render the extremist manifestations inefficient.

[Debreczeni] Currently, we are talking not only about an open debate but about a real political struggle. Csurka declared the Hungarian Way, and we began the task of creating the national liberal circles; in other words, the race for the social basis has begun. The rivalry will be decided by the choice of the majority of the public opinion: either the violent Csurka-type "national" course that disregards democracy, or the liberal policy that only serves national interests through democratic means. The decisive moment will be when Jozsef Antall is clearly forced to confront Istvan Csurka. No doubt, at that moment, Csurka is bound to lose.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] Both the massive support and the opposition of the party chairman and prime minister would also determine our image abroad. At the proposal of [U.S. Congressman] Tom Lantos, the U.S. Congress dealt with the Csurka document yesterday. Its opponents regard the national liberal trend as a small grouping. In other words, it seems that the main power is behind Csurka after all.

[Debreczeni] In every reaction, the party chairman has to consider the internal balance of forces. However, we have reached a situation in which both the answer of society and foreign evaluation are decisive. The importance of the latter is also clear from the fact that, in the course of his joint news conference with the CDU faction leader, Imre Konya was forced to declare that the MDF was distancing itself from Csurka, while he has not yet turned against Csurka within the faction and within the party itself.

[Balazsi] I do not want to qualify Tom Lantos' role, but it is certain that the U.S. Congress' debate on the Csurka document will harm Hungary's image abroad.

[Debreczeni] We respect Tom Lantos when he takes a stand in favor of the ethnic Hungarians in Romania, and we must accept the fact that he draws the attention to harmful phenomena in Hungary according to the same values. We should not give cause for such things to happen.

[MAGYAR NEMZET] Many people miss the opinion of Sandor Csoori and Sandor Lezsak in this debate. Would their opinion help in settling this issue?

[Debreczeni] Their political capital and their charisma are recognized both within the MDF and outside the MDF. Therefore, their opinion is quite desirable. Both at county meetings and faction meetings, Sandor Lezsak clearly opted in favor of Csurka. Sandor Csoori withdrew from everyday politics, but he could break his silence in this moment of crisis. His position as chairman of the World Federation of Hungarians also predestines him to express his opinion in this situation.

Finance Minister Explains Proposal to IMF

AU2809091492 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 22 Sep 92 p 11

[Interview with Finance Minister Mihaly Kupa by Eva Czelnai in Washington; date not given: "Will 1994 Be the Turning Point?"]

[Text] Mihaly Kupa took with him to the negotiations with the IMF a budget consolidation program for the period up to 1996. In an interview for MAGYAR HIRLAP he also called this a reform program. He said that hopefully, on the basis of this, they will be able to sign the agreement on making available all three credit installments that were due earlier this year, as well as the agreement on the next installment. His proposal envisages that the deficit will be 5 percent of the gross domestic product [GDP] in 1994 and 3.5 percent in 1996. The proposal also hopes to provide a basis for accepting the 7 percent deficit planned for 1993.

[Czelnai] What are you bringing to the negotiations?

[Kupa] I have with me the 1993 budget and social security figures that were approved by the government on 17 September. I also have a three-year consolidation program, and the willingness to make an agreement, which is what I also expect from the other side.

[Czelnai] What is the duration of this program and what will it reform?

[Kupa] First, we remove everything from the budget that should not be there. Then we charge more for services, and in the third step, we will merge and rationalize things where possible. Simply cutting the budget by, let us say, 30 percent, is not a solution. If we can maintain the same proportions in relation to GDP or revenues, and restructure and rationalize our spending within these proportions then that in itself is worth a lot.

[Czelnai] The parliamentary parties are still continuing their heated debate on the introduction of the two-tier value-added-tax [VAT] next year. What can you promise the IMF on this issue?

[Kupa] Parliament will receive the material before 30 September and they will examine it thoroughly—posing the danger that it will be changed in many places. The effects of the two-tier VAT are not lethal and its inflationary effect is no more than 3 to 6 percent. At the same time, it affects the various social groups very differently. Therefore, we might discuss it together with certain compensation measures. In this case, the expenditure side has to be reduced by some 40-50 billion forints, but this cannot be done at just any section and it has to be tolerable.

[Czelnai] What can still be reduced?

[Kupa] We must not withdraw any more funds from the basic supply areas like education and welfare expenditure; all we can do is reduce the state's direct overheads. Social security also has a directorate that has incredibly high expenses. We also have to see what defense and public security can put up with. There is no sense in introducing new taxes if we compensate them by withdrawals on the other side. If the price index is at 16 percent in 1993 and wages will also be around this figure then the whole thing will be compensated for and we can only help the extremely needy groups.

[Czelnai] What ideas did you come up with to reform the health service and the pensions system, and from what time do you want people to pay fees?

[Kupa] First of all, very many expenses not strictly connected with insurance have to be removed from social security. The main point is to separate the health and the pension fund, so that they should sooner or later operate as a modern insurance system. However, Parliament will have to decide when and how much people should pay for provisions that are not in the insurance system. This might be done in three years' time.

[Czelnai] How much deficit is the program expecting until 1996?

[Kupa] According to calculations, as a percentage of the GDP, the deficit of the whole state administration, including that of the social security, will gradually decrease from 1993. It can go down to 5 percent by about 1994 and we will be able to use the EC measure for the 3.5 percent in 1996. The actual figure depends on the growth rates and the level of domestic inflation.

[Czelnai] What kind of compromises are you prepared to make at the negotiations?

[Kupa] We came here with a very strict budget program that can put expenditure in order. We can make a compromise on what kind of economic development, balance of payments, or budget deficit we accept.

[Czelnai] Are you also willing to compromise on the proportion of the GDP and the deficit?

[Kupa] Of course. Let me quote one of the great sayings of [economist] Janos Kornai: "What does a number show in itself? Nothing."

[Czelnai] As far as I can gather from what you are saying, you are planning 1994 as the turning point when a change of government is possible.

[Kupa] It is possible but things have to be kept in order regardless of the change of government. We must not pass on a ruined country to the next government—which will be the old one, although this does not matter at the moment.

[Czelnai] However, it will be up to the new government to implement your program.

[Kupa] True, but it is also obvious that the new government will hold new negotiations. Excuse me, but we also took over an agreement with the IMF, and what happened? Nothing. We discussed it, found it reasonable, improved it, and that is that.

Suchocka Says Coalition 'Should Be Broadened'

LD0110113892 Warsaw PAP in English 0918 GMT 29 Sep 92

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 29—Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka thinks that the present government coalition "works fairly well" but at the same time she is convinced that it should be broadened. "This would, naturally, make the government more stable," she told the "Zet" radio station on Tuesday [29 September].

In her opinion, the broadening of the coalition by some groupings depends on "to what extent they support the government programme and to what extent they are willing to approve what this government is doing."

The prime minister dissociated herself from a statement made by leader of the Centre Alliance (PC) Jaroslaw Kaczynski who said that his party was not interested in entering a government which did not want it. "I have never made such a statement and, to the contrary, from the moment of forming this coalition I have thought that PC should enter it. It happened so, however, that the PC did not join the coalition of its own will," Suchocka said.

Walesa Stresses Importance of Intelligence Service

LD3010234892 Warsaw PAP in English 2140 GMT 28 Sep 92

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 28—President Lech Walesa participated Monday [28 September] in the opening ceremony of postgraduate studies of the State Protection Office (UOP) intelligence service board, meeting the personnel and new students.

The president stressed the importance of the service and the need of stabilization essential for its mission, saying "no state can exist without intelligence service, your work is difficult and responsible but indispensable."

Speaking with the president, the cadre and students declared their attachement to supreme authorities of the Republic of Poland.

Unions Ready To Negotiate Unconditionally

LD3010233592 Warsaw PAP in English 1807 GMT 28 Sep 92

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 28—The post-Communist all-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ) is ready to negotiate with the Polish Government on the proposed "enterprise pact," without laying down preconditions, the Presidium of the OPZZ Council announced on Monday [28 September].

OPZZ leader Ewa Spychalska said that the organisation was prepared to join in discussions with all other workers' groupings willing to declare a readiness to negotiate in tri-partite discussions between government, employers and unions. "In a situation where the country's problems are growing, cooperation between trade unions is needed. The interests of the workers are common," Spychalska said.

According to deputy leader Maciej Manicki, OPZZ coordinator in the negotiations, the most contentious element in the "enterprise pact" is the draft law on mass privatisation, which OPZZ is seeking to have withdrawn from the sejm. The union believes that the draft law has been insufficiently worked out, and requires further wide consultation among Polish society.

Democratic Right Leader Views Split With Union

AU2909214792 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 23 Sep 92 p 3

[Interview with Aleksander Hall, leader of the Forum of the Democratic Right, by Wojciech Zaluska; place and date not given: "A Divorce Based on Reason"]

[Text] [Zaluska] Do you agree that today the most important division in Poland is between supporters and opponents of reform?

[Hall] Yes.

[Zaluska] So, why did you decide to leave the Democratic Union [UD] and create a split in the first of those two camps?

[Hall] No, the situation is quite different. After leaving the Democratic Union, we will cooperate closely with the Christian Democratic Party, the Christian-Peasant Alliance, and the Republican Coalition, that is, with groupings that have been functioning in a fragmented way until now. We are not dividing up the reform camp, but we are consolidating part of it.

[Zaluska] Why has the Forum of the Democratic Right decided to do so now?

[Hall] We have been thinking about leaving the UD for a long time now. However, we first wanted to bring about the formation of a government coalition grouping together with pro-reform forces and stabilize the situation in the country. We waited for the moment when the UD would emerge from political isolation in which it found itself after the parliamentary elections. Both conditions have been satisfied. The UD is in a good state: It has a prime minister and ministers. No one can accuse us of leaving a sinking ship.

[Zaluska] However, I still do not understand why you consider a split with the Democratic Union necessary?

[Hall] The majority of parties emerged during the "war at the top" that divided up the "Solidarity" camp in a completely random way. Where people found themselves was not in any way determined by programs or ideological views, but by their position on the dispute between Lech Walesa and Tadeusz Mazowiecki. That was also what happened in the case of the UD.

The formation of the Suchocka government, which, it seems to me, should survive until the next parliamentary elections, will provide several years for the reorganizing of the Polish political scene.

I would like this time to be used to build a right-wing grouping that will perform the same role in Poland as the Christian Democrats in Germany and the Conservatives in Great Britain, a formation that supports the modernization of the economy and capitalism.

[Zaluska] The UD is not opposed to capitalism.

[Hall] I agree, but we were divided over ideological views. The Forum of the Democratic Right accepts the presence in public life of national and Christian values, which part of the Democratic Union regards with far-reaching mistrust and associates with nationalism and clericalism.

[Zaluska] Jan Litynski has said that today there is no electorate that is both nationalist and pro-reform at the same time.

[Hall] We will only really know whether that is true during the elections. I think that there is such an electorate and neither the UD nor the Liberal-Democratic Congress has a chance of reaching it.

[Zaluska] Are you not simply afraid that the movement created by Jan Olszewski will gain a monopoly of the right and patriotism?

[Hall] No, although I do, of course, think that a struggle should take place about what the Polish right should be like. Should we be primarily occupied with looking for agents and a struggle with the reform camp, which is what Olszewski wants. Or, as the Christian-National Union wants, should it primarily be a guardian of our national heritage and check Poland's integration with Europe?

Or should the right, while affirming patriotic values, consistently strive to stop Poland from being a backwater, but enter European structures while retaining its identity. It is obvious that this last model is the one that I most identify with. What is more, I think that the emergence of a right of this kind is a condition for the success of the Polish reforms.

[Zaluska] Why?

[Hall] Because otherwise there is a danger of an ideological war, in which pro-reform groupings espousing cultural and moral liberalism will face traditionalist groupings that will be struggling against the first and will delay reform. I would like the bloc that we are creating to prevent this kind of polarization and facilitate cooperation between the two camps, cooperation that is essential for the modernization of Poland.

German Community Leader on 'National Phobias'

PM2909104192 Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 15 Sep 92 p 3

[Interview with Sejm Deputy Henryk Kroll, chairman of the German Minority Parliamentary Caucus and deputy chairman of the Sejm Commission for National and Ethnic Minorities, by correspondent Ryszard Rudnik; place and date not given]

[Text] [Rudnik] The campaign to recognize the existence of an ethnic German minority in Poland has been successful. What will happen now? What goals do Germans residing in Poland set themselves?

[Kroll] We involved ourselves vigorously in the latest self-government election, and we scored a success in the parliamentary election. These achievements are the fundamental indicators of our strategy: As an ethnic German minority, we want to mark our presence in the public affairs of this country and to contribute actively to the development of our region. I believe that these intentions of ours are more than obvious. At the same time, we are very careful indeed not to allow ourselves to be drawn into any kind of destructive political games that are nowadays being played everywhere around us, even in the parliamentary forum. We are not interested in displays of political chutzpah. Above all else, we are interested in meaningful work designed to improve the population's living conditions. This is the election promise for which our voters will hold us to account.

[Rudnik] If you are talking about being very careful, you clearly have something to fear. It was quite obvious that you were greatly relieved after the meeting arranged in Opole between the German minority and Deputy Prime Minister Goryszewski of the Christian National Union [ZChN]...

[Kroll] Contrary to your suggestion and the simplistic views of many commentators, the ZChN does not actively oppose us. I value our cooperation with the entire pro-government coalition. If we have any enemies in the Sejm at all, these are more likely to be individual deputies hailing from a variety of caucuses. There is no doubt that we are regarded with particular hostility by Deputy Wierzbicka of the Polish Western Union. She was previously a member of the Confederation for an Independent Poland, but she left that party. I have the impression that her activity in the Sejm is restricted exclusively to monitoring all our moves and attributing the worst possible intentions to all our actions. Of course, we do not expect that everyone will just love everyone else in the Sejm. We try to persuade those who are doubtful about us through the quality of our work. However, there will always be people like Deputy Wierzbicka, who will never be prepared to believe that a German can mean well.

[Rudnik] You place a high value on your separate identity in the field of tradition, culture and language

and insist on its preservation. But you do not do so in business. Where is your German economic lobby in Silesia?

[Kroll] Well, and who are all those small craftsmen, repairmen, joiners, mechanics, and so on? This is precisely our small-scale economic enterprise in Silesia. Why don't you visit a town like Gogolin and see for yourself how much has changed there—in fact, how much has changed in all parishes throughout the Opole district.

[Rudnik] Everyone in the region has been hoping for the rise of a slightly bigger capital than joiners' fortunes. With the advent of capitalism, the specific national and ethnic situation in the Opole district was supposed to provide a unique economic chance for the area, far superior to the prospects of any other district in Poland. However, so far we have not seen any German capital flowing in...

[Kroll] The German community in Poland has always been—and still is—capable of bringing in German businessmen of the very top caliber to do serious business in the Opole region, but to do this, a series of conditions must be met. There must be clear and unequivocally defined terms of land and property purchase, settlement, and capital transfer. The Polish Government is extremely cautious when it comes to such decisions, especially as regards dealing with German capital. As a result, our southern neighbors are benefiting from this official caution. The Czech authorities do not have any such scruples.

[Rudnik] Nevertheless, in other regions of the country German capital has been coming in more boldly, although the terms of the monetary transfer or problems with the purchase of property are the same there.

[Kroll] In the Opole region there is another aspect that must be taken into account: The combined political and emotional factor. Many German businessmen prefer to invest in central Poland because there no one, or at least hardly anyone is likely to accuse them of harboring sinister intentions and trying to colonize our territories through purchase of Polish land that they eventually plan to separate from Poland.

No one in central Poland would equate the purchase of a factory or a piece of land by a German businessman with the loss of national sovereignty—but I believe that this kind of interpretation is quite commonplace around here. Faced with such an attitude and such arguments, the average German investor will be so astonished and bewildered that he will prefer to go somewhere else. After all, his main concern is his business, and he cannot afford to waste his time arguing with other people's national phobias. I believe that the state administration should make a greater effort to neutralize or assuage such national fears. There is no shortage of good examples here. You could argue that the inhabitants of the Poznan region have far worse memories of their past experience with the Germans, but they have still shown much more energy and vigor in their attempts to attract German capital than the Opole voivodship authorities.

[Rudnik] For the time being, German communities around here involve themselves predominantly in charitable work. You have contributed significantly to the creation of new branches of the "Caritas" organization. When do you intend to stop handing out the fish and begin distributing the fishing poles?

[Kroll] I believe that this is precisely what we are doing: Giving out the fishing poles. The only question is, where can anyone find any fish in this Polish pond? There are no fish in it.

[Rudnik] What is the German minority's most important concern in Poland today?

[Kroll] That the Polish majority should at long last abandon their nationalistic thinking. Ethnic Poles are still not showing much interest in cooperating with us. Worse, they are actually showing less and less interest in it. As a community, we find ourselves increasingly isolated in the Opole region. This cannot lead to any positive outcome. We are all forced to rely on one another here, and the only way we can all live side by side in harmony and prosperity is through mutual understanding and cooperation.

[Rudnik] Would you give us some examples of the isolation to which you say you are subjected?

[Kroll] Take, for example, your own newspaper. For months now you have not published a word about the achievements of the German community in our voivodship, or the activity of the German deputies to the Sejm. We feel entitled to suspect that this silence has been deliberate. In addition, our contacts with the voivodship authorities seem to have cooled recently. This is really not our fault. Then there is the attitude with which the local authorities approached the issue surrounding the proposal to change the name of the German Minority's Social and Cultural Society. Constant attempts to invent new difficulties in this matter are not conducive to building an atmosphere of mutual trust. I will leave aside the question of the court's position, for the judiciary is an independent authority. But could there not have been a little more trust? Could you not have tried to understand us a bit better?

[Rudnik] It seems that more trust and more understanding is what is needed all around. Thank you for talking to us.

Electoral Bureau Requests Invalid Ballot Recheck

AU0110210192 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 2000 GMT 30 Sep 92

[Text] A Central Electoral Bureau [BEC] communique sent to election bureau presidents in the various constituencies reads as follows:

As of 1800 today, 30 September, on the basis of computerized data received by the BEC from the National Statistics Commission, it has been noted that of 11,478,265 ballots cast 1,561,762 were judged invalid for the Assembly of Deputies; 1,477,204 for the Senate; and 554,948 for the presidency. We ask you to recheck the ballots that have been declared invalid and to inform us by fax of the results within 24 hours.

In case you find valid ballots in this category, we would ask you to specify their number according to parties, political formations, independent candidates, or candidates for the presidency. A domestic observer or a representative of the constituency should be invited to participate in this procedure.

The communique is signed by the president of the Central Electoral Bureau, Judge Paul Florea.

Official Clarifies Vote Count

AU0110102992 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 0900 GMT 1 Oct 92

[Text] In connection with the communique of the Central Electoral Bureau issued on 30 September, regarding the number of votes that were invalid, Mr. Ionel Flesariu, director in the Local Public Administration Department of the Romanian Government, told our reporter at Victoria Palace that the number of ballots cast is not 11,478,265 as it was mentioned in the aforementioned communique, but three times as much, because each voter cast three ballots, one for the Chamber of Deputies, one for the Senate, and one for the president.

From this point of view, the total invalid ballots for the Chamber of Deputies, Senate, and Presidency, amounting to about 3.5 million, should be related to over 33 million votes cast.

Pro-Democratia Comments on 'Minor Irregularities'

AU3009211192 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1840 GMT 30 Sep 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 30/9/1992—Both in the electoral campaign and the ballot proper only minor irregularities and incidents were noticed that "did not distort the final results significantly."

This was the first conclusion the Pro-Democratia Association stated on 30 September at a press conference meant to make public a preliminary report on the recent elections in Romania.

Among the irregularities mentioned were the "personal attacks, negative campaign, and the extension, against legal provisions, of the propaganda deadline," as well as some technical confusions.

The Pro-Democratia organisation, it was shown, had accredited 4,459 observers who monitored the election process at 4,083 polling stations. Appreciations were given to the efforts made by the Central Electoral Bureau, the interministerial commission and the government for the good management of the elections, for their responsiveness to the suggestions made by Pro-Democratia relative to the national observers. The interdiction of the observers' access to the Constituency Electoral Bureaus before 30 September was mentioned as a negative fact, which might hamper the correct assessment of the final results and the transparency of the electoral process. A critical remark was made about the release on the air of the INFAS-IRSOP [Romanian Opinion Poll Institute-Applied Social Research Institute, Bonn] prognosis before the closing of some stations, while citizens were yet to vote.

In connection with the parallel counting of votes, the document issued by Pro-Democratia shows that the procedure followed was the selection of every 32-nd station out of a batch of 444 in 13 regions, with maximum attention focused on the presidential candidates and eight parties credited with best chances in elections. The main handicap in the process, Pro-Democratia remarked, was the speed of action, unbelievably slower than in the February local elections.

Future for Romania Party Leader Views Elections

AU0110115392 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0954 GMT 1 Oct 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 1/10/1992—"The success of the Democratic National Salvation Front [FDSN] was foreseeable, but it also expressed elements that added to the analysts' expectations," particularly the fact that "this political faction read better the reactions of the electorate to the political developments of so far, to the pace of the reform, and understood better the big questions tormenting the Romanian citizen," stresses Vasile Secares, leader of "A Future for Romania" group (a splinter branch of the National Salvation Front from which the FDSN also broke away) in an interview with CURIERUL NATIONAL.

Referring to the post-election tasks and goals of the FDSN, Vasile Secares says that this party "is a potentiality which must find very quickly its path and tangible formulae to be up to the citizens' confidence." "All the labels put on the FDSN are wrong because they originate in individual reactions or stands of one of the leaders of this group or another but they do not refer to what the FDSN is or might become," Mr. Secares stresses. In his opinion "the key of the game related to the political formula based on the returns is the hands of the future president; and the formula for Romania's Government must not fall in the trap of arithmetic calculations." Mr.

Secares even upholds the idea that "the results of the elections in Romania must be prevented from turning into another variant of the 'Polish syndrome' dividing, polarizing the electorate and rendering the country ungovernable, barring the capitalization of the chances of recovering Romania. That is why the role every party can play in the political life and in the country's fast recovery must be carefully analyzed," he added. "A number of patterns, cliches like the idea that the Romanian political life is a life and death fight, that it should be grounded only on scission and division must be given up. Romania's transformation implies options and choices that should be made on normal grounds, function of national interests, of national consensus and not necessarily of scissions," Mr. Secares underscores.

Mr. Secares, explaining the results the FSN scored in the September 27 elections, and especially the fact that Caius Traian Dragomir, the FSN presidential candidate, got a number of votes far below that of his own party, assesses that the front made political and strategic errors. "The votes punished the political error and the error made in selecting the candidate," Mr. Secares concludes.

Iliescu Favors 'Government of National Unity'

AU3009201492 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1830 GMT 30 Sep 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 30/9/1992—Opening the press conference which took place Wednesday, September 30, at the Elisabeta Palace in Bucharest, Ion Iliescu, Democratic National Salvation Front (FDSN) candidate for Romania's presidency, wished to underscore "the calm atmosphere of civic responsibility" in which the ballot proceeded on Sunday.

"The partial results released so far confirm the professionalism and accuracy of the IRSOP/INFAS [Romanian Public Poll Institute/Applied Social Research Institute, Bonn] projections," Ion Iliescu said, expressing in that context his surprise at the rejection of those projections by a number of personalities of public life.

Ion Iliescu finds as "out of place" statements like those saying Romania is the only country in Eastern Europe with an ex-communist president or that the FDSN is crypto-communist. "There is no chance, either in Romania or in Europe, of going back to communism," Ion Iliescu said concluding his address.

The dialogue the candidate of the Democratic National Salvation Front for president, Ion Iliescu, conducted with the press on September 30 for two hours focused on the formation of the new government and the difficulties it poses owing to the variety of the political parties which have a seat in parliament after the September 27 elections. So, Mr. Iliescu spoke up for "a formula apt to unite all political forces," specifying that partisan stands should be placed second in decisive situations. The negotiations to follow, he said, will exclude no political party, and the dialogue should end in a government of national unity. Romania's isolation internationally, an idea circulated of late, is false in Mr. Iliescu's opinion because this country has had rich activity on an external plane in the last two years. The treaties concluded with several states, the top-level contacts, the international meetings Romania attended are clear proofs in this respect.

Other questions referred to minorities ("we comply with international standards," he said), possibility for early elections (he categorically rejected), the status of the former Securitate and of the old communist structures ("which were abolished on December 22, 1989," in Mr. Iliescu's opinion), Romania's relations with the International Monetary Fund, the status of the present National Salvation Front ("which bears the consequences of its leadership," he said), the opportuneness of a press law.

One of the first measures the future government should take must be linked to a reconsideration of subsidy cuts starting January 1, 1993, opined Mr. Iliescu at the news conference on Wednesday when answering a question asked by a "ROMPRES" reporter. We must reschedule it, he said highlighting that to set a rate on the reform is the appanage of no political grouping as it is required by socioeconomic realities. The government's programme for the next four years should be based on the application of an aggregate of measures apt to take the Romanian economy out of the crisis by stopping the decline of industrial production and backing agriculture from a legislative and executive point of view. It should be coherent and clear-cut all while the measures to be undertaken are rationally applied, assessed Mr. Iliescu.

FSN Supports Neither Presidential Candidate

AU3009205092 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1916 GMT 30 Sep 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 30/9/1992—At the closing of the meeting of the Enlarged Executive Bureau of the Steering Committee of the National Salvation Front (FSN), Petre Roman, its leader, stated that his party was now a democratic political party, the promoter of a clear political line, responsible for the country's problems. The enlarged executive bureau expressed, in its plenum, a strong support for the leadership of the party and the political line it proposes. Mr. Roman stressed that his party would "cooperate with all the democratic forces for the furtherance of the reform and for preventing any violations of the democratic freedoms, of the political and economic democracy." He added that the Executive Bureau considered that neither of the candidates to the presidency could avail himself of the support of the National Salvation Front. He invited the FSN supporters to vote in the second ballot as their conscience urged them.

Party Leaders Assess Coalition Formation

AU3009200192 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1819 GMT 30 Sep 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 30/9/1992—Answering daily LIBERTATEA's questions as to the possibility of a

government coalition, Oliviu Gherman, chairman of the Democratic National Salvation Front [FDSN], said that in the negotiations it would conduct on this matter the FDSN would see to the observance of its election program in broad lines, showing readiness to discuss the ways of accomplishing some of its points. "Starting from the fundamental principle of the need for national reconciliation, we will not admit any form or extremism of totalitarian tendency. We think the strategy of reform and privatization must not affect the average path of these processes, but single out only the directions in which the pace can be speeded up and other ones in which it has to be slowed down, in harmony with the necessities of the economy on the horizontal and in order to avoid grave social tensions."

Geza Domokos, chairman of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania, assesses that "we are closer to the formation of a coalition in which the nostalgic, even restoration-minded forces, with a highly nationalist ideology, would have a heavy say... Of course, if it comes to a government coalition, we rule out the possibility of an alliance with the FDSN, the Romanian National Unity Party, the Greater Romania Party or the Socialist Party of Labour."

"We are pretty sure we will be invited to participate in the formation of the new government," said Corneliu Vadim Tudor, chairman of the Greater Romania Party. "We are greatly interested in the Ministry of the Interior; for, the big frauds committed by the 'Roman team' were concealed because of the outgoing ministerial team. We are equally interested in the Ministry of Culture as well as in the setting up of a special department to investigate the anti-Romanian activities."

"We have always been ready to help in the settlement of the problems of national interest and we are ready now too," said Victor Surdu, chairman of the Democratic Agrarian Party of Romania [PDAR]. "On one condition: The government should accept the PDAR program concerning the food safety," said the agrarian leader, mentioning they would like the portfolios of agriculture, commerce and transport. "We will be on the side of those who assume the responsibility and represent the majority in the future government," V. Surdu told daily LIBERTATEA.

Gypsies Term Repatriation 'Selling' People

AU3009204892 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1923 GMT 30 Sep 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 30/9/1992—The Gypsies Federation of Romania shows disagreement to the Romanian-German Convention on citizens' repatriation to be enforced on November 1, assessing it as a "selling" because the Romanian side approaches a highly complex problem "under pressure", shows a press conference of the foundation "Aven Amentza" for the integration and emancipation of gypsies. Protesting against ethnic identification and showing suspicion generated by a certain clause of the protocol which would enable ethnic denouncement, gypsies' representatives uphold that, according to human rights, if the individuals belonging to this minority did not want to declare themselves as such, one should respect their right to declare themselves what they want. They appealed to non-government bodies in defence of human rights, in Germany included, to find opportunities for their integration into the receiving countries, Germany as well, and let the ones who want to stay there do so, by granting them the status of political asylum-seekers, too.

Vucurevic: FRY Policy Detrimental to Serbs

LD3009192592 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1805 GMT 30 Sep 92

[Text] Belgrade, Sept. 30 (TANJUG)—Bozidar Vucurevic, the leader of Serbs in eastern Hercegovina, part of the war-torn former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, on Wednesday [30 September] said that the current policy of the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (F.R.Y) "is making concession after concession to the detriment of the Serbian people in Hercegovina, Knin and Montenegro".

Explaining his opinion to TANJUG's correspondent, Vucurevic adduced to an agreement on the demilitarization of the Prevlaka Peninsula and the deployment of U.N. peace-keepers as monitors there.

Vucurevic said he did not agree with that plan and that, once the F.R.Y Army withdrew from Prevlaka, eastern Hercegovina would practically be left to "fight by itself against half of Croatia, to fight for the borders and part of the Adriatic Sea."

Prevlaka is the Yugoslav Army's military base in the Adriatic, on the border between the F.R.Y and Croatia. The Yugoslav Army is based there to protect the entrance in Boka Kotorska, a deep fyord in the Montenegrin part of the Adriatic coast.

Croatia and the F.R.Y have begun disputing over Prevlaka when Croatia seceded from Yugoslavia because the uninhabited peninsula is within Croatia's administrative borders.

Yugoslavia maintains that Prevlaka, which has [words indistinct] the Yugoslav Army's military base, should belong to it, since it is of no strategic importance for Croatia while enabling it control over the whole Yugoslav (Montenegrin) Adriatic coast.

Serbs in eastern Hercegovina, the region in which the Croatian Army is on the offensive, are fiercely criticizing the initiative to pull the Yugoslav Army out of Prevlaka, because they consider the withdrawal a strategic [word indistinct] to the Croatian Army so it can penetrate Hercegovina more easily.

"If the Croats want the Yugoslav Army to leave Prevlaka and Konavle (Dubrovnik's hinterland towards Hercegovina), then they, too, must leave eastern Hercegovina", Vucurevic said.

Vucurevic qualified as nonsense the Croatian authorities' invoking of Tito's borders in order to retain Prevlaka. "These borders no longer exist" and Croatia erased them itself when it annexed western Hercegovina, Vucurevic said.

30 'Chetniks' Killed; Reportedly From FRY

AU3009213292

[Editorial report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1800 GMT on 30 September carries in its regular 40-minute newscast several reports on the latest fighting in the republic.

Momo Dragicevic reports from Sarajevo Security Services Center that "the aggressor went wild all over the city. Several 155-mm shells were fired from Brus at Marijin Dvor, and from Borije at the city center." He says that the Center commune "came under tank fire," while it is "unusually quiet" in Novo Sarajevo. As for Novi Grad, "infantry fire has been heard from the direction of Nedjarici," and "Dobrinja has been shelled sporadically from Lukavica." Stup has also been "rather quiet," he says.

Reporting from Vogosca, Rade Trbojevic says that "it has been much quieter on the Vogosca battlefield today than has been the case during the last 10 days. There was some tank fire and heavy shelling this morning, but the rest of the day was marked only by platoons and bursts from infantry weapons, and, of course, the inevitable snipers."

Ilijas Press Center reports that "the enemy offensive against the free territory of the Ilijas commune is in its tenth day, but without much effect. Documents were found on the body of one Chetnik, which shows that the objective of this offensive is to break the resistance of our armed forces, and then cleanse the whole region." The report says that "the most interesting thing about these documents is that they literally state that there is no difference between Muslims and Croats, they are both our enemies."

Milorad Filoni gives a brief account of the fighting in the republic, and stresses that "during the last 24 hours, the aggressor's planes took off 40 to 50 times from the Chetnik airport in Banja Luka. They bombed Zenica, Gradacac, Jajce, Maglaj, and Tesanj.

The report from the Press Center of the Defense Headquarters of Celici says that "the members of the Serbian volunteer guards within the Valjevo Corps, tried to break through the Celici defense lines. There was a ferocious battle," and "the aggressor's attack" was repelled. "30 chetniks were killed, and the documents found on them prove that most of them were from places in Serbia: Valjevo, Gornji Milanovac, Novi Pazar, and some of them were even from Montenegro." The report says that "long-range artillery is completing the total destruction of Celici."

In his report from Tuzla, Salih Brkic says that "the quiet of the early part of the day was shattered at 1330 by sirens and several shells that were fired from the chetnik strongholds on Mt. Majevica." He says that "tanks again pounded the area of the hospital," which, he says, is not surprising since "during the last few days, the criminal planes have bombed refugee camps, and the Catholic

church in Zovik." "At the same time," he says, "the frantic terrorist attacks on Gradacac continue. This afternoon, the aggressor used howitzers and other artillery to pound the town from its positions in (?Zdreben)."

Brcko Press Center reports that "the aggressor pounded our defense positions with howitzers, mortars, recoilless guns, and PRAGA [expansion unknown], and also used incendiary devices to burn down two houses, which is all it has managed to do today."

Reporting from Maglaj, Hajrudin Ceric talks of "the tenth day of the great Chetnik offensive, or rather, of the suffering of the Maglaj people. Explosions of tank projectiles are rocking the town," he says, while "the hospital remains one of the regular targets."

Ramiz Brkic reports from Tesanj on a quiet day there, but "the aggressor's infantry has been attempting to break through the front line in the village of Mrkotic." However, as the communal headquarters of the Territorial Defense claims, "the defense lines are stable."

The announcer-read report says that "Srebrenica has again been bombed. Two aircraft of the criminal Chetnik air force swept over the commune twice and bombed the wider region. At 1130 and 1250, the killer-pilots dropped their deadly loads: cluster bombs and sows [large bombs]."

In his report from Konjic, Erhem Badzak says that "as far as the battlefield is concerned, it has been rather quiet. This morning the Chetniks used recoilless guns to pound the defensive positions held by the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army and the Croatian Defense Council."

Serbs Accused of 'Definitive Ethnic Cleansing'

AU3009194092 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 30 Sep 92

[Text] The Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina has issued a statement that, at 1300, a number of citizens from Grbavica One and Two crossed the bridge near the Hotel Bristol to our side.

From a brief conversation with the citizens who had crossed from Grbavica, the Ministry of Internal Affairs found that they had been evicted from their homes at around 1000, without being given any notice of what might happen. The keys to their homes were taken away from them, as was any jewelry and other valuable possessions, with the explanation that, after crossing to—as they call it—Alija Izetbegovic's side, they would be given more detailed information.

All these citizens, in their words, were rounded up in the garages of Soping [shopping complex in Grbavica] at about 1000, whence they were forced to walk in groups to the bridge near the Hotel Bristol and the Vrbanja Bridge. So far, 30 people have crossed near the Hotel Bristol, and about a 100 have crossed the Vrbanja Bridge.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs has irrefutable evidence that, in the commune building in Grbavica, a meeting was held by the Serbian Democratic Party and its military command, at which an agreement was reached to move all Muslims and Croats from the territory of Grbavica. To this end, fresh forces of Arkan [leader of Serb paramilitary formations] and Seselj have been called in to help, and, in the next two or three days, murder all Muslims of military age. According to this, the aggressor's final offensive has started for the definitive ethnic cleansing of that part of Sarajevo.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs is closely following the developments in Grbavica, and will inform the public about any new developments, the statement concludes.

Water, Electricity Used as 'Means of Attrition'

AU3009172492

[Editorial Report] Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1400 GMT on 30 September carries its regular 46-minute newscast, which includes several reports on fighting in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

In his report from Sarajevo, Risto Djogo says that "according to both Muslim and Serbian sources, Sarajevo has been calm today. True, explosions are to be heard occasionally in Ilidza, Nedjarici, and Stup, and there is some sporadic shooting in the Zuc region. Following their customary practice, Muslim snipers are operating at Grbavica, Lukavica, and Rajlovac, but fortunately there have been no casualties.

"There is still no electricity or water in the city. Nobody knows when they will be available because in this dirty war electricity and water obviously are being used as a means of attrition."

Drago Todorovic reports from Foca that "after last night's fighting, Serbian units are in control of the entire valley of the Sutjeska, from Tjentiste in the direction of Gacko. According to information by the Foca army command, there was a close encounter between Serbian defenders and the Muslim army in the region of Vrbnica last night."

Reporting on the situation on the Bosnian side of Posavina, Bosko Lomovic says that "this morning in the Brcko region, the Green Berets launched mortar and infantry attacks from their positions at Brod, Kolonija, and Begovaca in the direction of Suljagica Sokak, Dizdarusa, and (?Grcica). Serbian army units were forced to respond strongly and silence the attackers.

"However, a worse evil is coming from the Slavonian side: After cooling their barrels for one day, Tudjman's 105-mm howitzers, stationed between the villages of Gunja and Djurici, fired 10 shells at the Serbian village of Grbavica, killing one civilian. After this, Grcica, Dizdarusa, and some town districts were showered with 25 shells. It is a real wonder that the artillery of the Serbian Republic did not respond this time.

"By the way, Brcko citizens of all three confessions are astounded today at what Izetbegovic's tanks did from their positions in Omerbegovaca yesterday afternoon: They deliberately targeted a residential building of 540 apartments, mostly belonging to Muslim families."

In his report from the Majevica region, Vlado Trisic says that "there were some provocations by Muslim-Ustasha formations again last night. According to information received from military sources, there were some minor artillery exchanges in the region of Pozarnica and Lukavica. According to these sources, the massing of new enemy forces was noticed yesterday and last night."

33 Serbs Killed Near Milici Identified

LD3009203692 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1617 GMT 28 Sep 92

[Text] Milici, Sept. 28 (TANJUG)—Thirty-three Serbs who were massacred on Saturday [26 September] by Moslem forces, [words indistinct] eastern part of the war-torn former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, have been identified, Bosnia Serb sources said on Monday.

It is still unknown how many local Serbs were massacred in all. Whole families from the village of Podravanje and five families have so far been identified among the massacred Serbs.

Around 1,500 troops loyal to Bosnian Moslem Leader Alija Izetbegovic on Saturday burned to the ground the Serbian villages of Omrogosije, Buljevii, Nedirista and Podravanje.

Bosnian Serb sources said the Moslem extremists had first brutally tortured the local civilian population and then killed them.

The Moslem forces aimed to seize the bauxite mine in Milici but were repelled by the Bosnian Serb Army based in the eastern Bosnian town of Vlasenica. Twenty-seven Bosnian Serb troops were killed in combat.

The Holy Archbishop Synod of the Serbian Orthodox Church on Monday expressed shock over the genocide the Moslem fundamentalists committed against the Serbian population near Milici TANJUG learned.

Patriarch Pavle held a memorial service to "the innocent Serbian martyrs" in the presence of the Synod members.

An inter-ethnic, civil and religious war has been raging in Bosnia-Hercegovina for nearly six months now.

The conflicts escalated on April 7, after the European Community decided to recognize Bosnia-Hercegovina's independence, although its three nations—the Moslems, (orthodox) Serbs and (catholic) Croats had previously failed the agree on the republic's future state order.

The Bosnian Serbs (who make up 32 percent of the population) do not want to be a national minority [words indistinct] urged by Izetbegovic. Moslems account for 44 and Croats 17 percent of the population [words indistinct] want Bosnia-Hercegovina to be a confederation made up of constituent units based [words indistinct].

Documents Provide Evidence of Mojahedin 'Crimes'

LD3010235492 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2233 GMT 28 Sep 92

["Pool" item]

[Text] Banja Luka, September 28 (TANJUG)—Documents captured on Crni Vrh, 90 km northwest of Sarajevo arrived in Banja Luka on Monday [28 September] and are irrefutable evidence of the presence and crimes by Mojahedin from Arab countries in Bosnia.

In a recent clash between the first Krajina Corps Brigade from the Serbian town of Teslic and Muslim forces in nearby Crni Vrh, a great quantity of documents belonging to a 43-strong Mojahedin group, mostly from Saudi Arabia were captured.

Films and a horrible photograph showing members of this Mojahedin unit and the severed heads of Serbian fighters were found.

Villagers of the Serbian village of Jasenova recognized fellow- villagers Blagoje Blagojevic, Brano Djuric and Nenad Petkovic.

The severed heads are now in the Tesanj tower stuck on poles as during the middle ages, say military sources. Tesanj is some 20-odd kilometres from Teslic and is held by Bosnian Muslims.

Several hundred Mojahedin from a number of Islamic countries and other mercenaries are fighting on the Muslim-Croatian side in the religious and ethnic war against Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The captured documents give the names of all the members of the Mojahedin group and papers issued by a Medressa in Mecca. These include the ranks of all members of the group—Commander Abu Ishaq, his Deputy Abu Jehib, both from Mecca, and Shaykh Abu Suleyman who is charge of religious affairs.

Passports show that members of this unit crossed the Austrian-Slovenian border in early August and a few days later the Slovenian-Croatian border at Kamensko. Before this they had received orders from Imam Sefik Omerbasic to go to Bosnia.

The order says that the crisis committee of Croatian Muslims for helping Bosnia-Hercegovina, certifies that "these gentlemen are travelling to the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina in order to examine possibilites for sending humanitarian aid to the inhabitants of the region," and is signed by Omerbasic.

UN Troops Deny Refugees Access to Village

LD3009150892 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 30 Sep 92

[Text] After rallying in Osijek's central square, more than 10,000 refugees who had been put up in the Osijek area and supported by its citizens set off in the direction of the temporarily occupied village of Antunovac. The UN Protection Force denied them access to the village. A representative of all the refugees nevertheless tried to gain access, but unfortunately he did not manage to learn what conditions in the village are like.

The refugees then were addressed by Colonel Loginov, who stressed that their return was impossible as there was no electricity in Antunovac and the whole area had to be cleared of mines, as well.

Those present dispersed after they expressed their discontent and the municipal government gave assurances that it would do its best to secure their return. This is being discussed right now at yet another session of the Executive Council of the Osijek municipality.

Refugees Blocked From 'Mine-Infested' Region

AU3009173692 Paris AFP in English 1732 GMT 30 Sep 92

[Text] Sarvas, Croatia, Sept 30 (AFP)—Up to 3,000 Croatian refugees set off Wednesday [30 September] for Serb-held territory in eastern Croatia in a bid to return home, but U.N. peacekeeping troops mobilised to prevent them crossing into the mine-infested region.

A U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) officer told AFP that two battalions had been deployed along the demarcation line separating the eastern Serb-dominated Slavonia region from the rest of the republic. He said that all the checkpoints along the demarcation line had been closed by the U.N. soldiers, who had been given orders to prevent the refugees from crossing "by any means without opening fire."

"We have blocked the roads," he said, and then added about the countryside: "I very much doubt that the refugees would risk crossing minefields."

The refugees had initially planned a mass return by some 20,000 people to about 30 villages near Osijek and the neighbouring towns of Vukovar, Vinkovci and Beli Manastir which were captured by Serb forces during the conflict following Croatia's independence declaration in June last year. But the mass return was abandoned after Croatian authorities on Tuesday changed their position and asked the refugees to postpone their action.

U.N. Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali on Tuesday warned that the refugees' safety could not be guaranteed, and only 3,000 set off from the eastern town of Osijek on Wednesday, a radio Osijek official told AFP.

The refugees sought shelter in Osijek after being forced from their homes by "ethnic cleansing" by local Serbs. The Serbs have vowed to kill any refugees attempting to return to the region, where U.N. forces have been deployed since Yugoslav army troops pulled out last year.

The Serbs had been calling the planned action a "death march" while the Croats called it a "peace march."

The Sarvas checkpoint some two kilometres (just over a mile) from Osijek was quiet however, and the U.N. soldiers manning their posts said they had not heard of any refugees heading this way. But "the UNPROFOR has shown that it is determined to do its duty," and prevent the refugees from crossing, one said. The U.N. troops said they would wait to see how the situation developed before lifting their roadblocks.

The self-proclaimed deputy defence minister in Serb-dominated parts of Croatia, dubbed by the Serbs the "Serbian republic of Krajina", charged that the Croatian authorities were "using the refugees to recover Serb-held territory and to restore their sovereignty." The "deputy minister", Milan Milanovic, warned: "Not a single Croat refugee will return here", noting that the Serbs made up 85 percent of the eastern Croatian region.

The U.N. peacekeepers here acknowledged that they did not expect a return of Croatian refugees in the near future because of the "accelerated Serbisation" of the region.

Serb Krajina Protests Visit by Reporters to Dam

LD3009194292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1220 GMT 30 Sep 92

[Text] Knin, 30 Sep (TANJUG)—The Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] Internal Affairs Ministry today lodged a protest with the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] command because the command allowed NEW YORK TIMES correspondent Chuck Sudetic and DELO of Ljubljana correspondent Nikola Damjanic to visit the Peruca hydroelectric dam yesterday without informing the Krajina authorities.

The protest says that members of the peacekeeping forces from the Kenyan battalion "told these two journalists at the dam that 6,000 kgs of explosives with JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] insignia and some liquid explosives have been found in tunnels in the dam."

On the basis of this information, the journalists sought additional information and explanations in the Knin Secretariat for Internal Affairs. The protest says that these journalists "have been writing tendentiously and in a biased way about the situation and developments in the RSK," hence it has been assessed that "the visit to the Peruca dam will be used for propaganda purposes at the expense of the RSK, which is not fair."

At the same time, the RSK Internal Affairs Ministry recalled that members of the UN forces banned experts and officials, including RSK Energy Minister Djordje Bjegovic, from visiting the dam a few days ago.

Double standards "are puzzling and worrying" and are causing unnecessary anxiety and tensions, the RSK Internal Affairs Ministry's protest to the UNPROFOR command and the FRY State Committee for Cooperation with Peacekeeping Forces stresses.

Problems With Return of Slavonia, Baranja Exiles

92BA1454A Zagreb NOVI VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 15 Sep 92 p 1

[Article by Mirko Sajler: "Ethnic Cleansing—Continuing?"]

[Text] Osijek—It will be difficult to bring about the plan under which the first exiles in eastern Slavonia and Baranja will return to their homes on 30 September. This was confirmed in a statement by Milan Ilic, also known as "Pancho," from Bijelo Brdo, who now holds the post of some sort of chairman of the regional council of the so-calied SAO [Serbian Autonomous Region] of Slavonia, Baranja, and western Syrmia. He told domestic and foreign journalists that "not all those who were forced out can return to the liberated territory (that is what he calls occupied Croatian territory—M.S.). The Serbian authorities will give their approval or reject the return for each individual within 90 days. Those who fought in the Croatian ranks will not have the right to return. If they nevertheless set out, then we will receive them here as terrorists."

Ilic is known to the people of Osijek. Before the war, he was even a delegate to the Osijek Opstina Assembly. He took up karate, more because of his violent nature than in order to master the sport. The former authorities kept an eye on him, but even after the establishment of democratic rule in Croatia he was not persecuted simply to keep this from being brandished as some sort of confirmation of the stories about Serbs being persecuted. But when the first barricades in Osijek opstina went up in Bijelo Brdo, of all places, Ilic assumed power there.

Ilic says that the lists with names of exiles will be checked by Serbian authorities, while the UN High Commissioner for Refugees and UNPROFOR [United Nations Protection Force] will be able to handle only work that is administrative in nature. Undesirables will not be allowed to return to the territory of the so-called SAO Krajina. And the people who will get the green light to return are primarily children, women, and elderly people. It is obvious that the Chetnik authorities in the occupied parts of Croatia in fact want to preserve their policy of ethnic cleansing. Similarly, Serb extremists want to preserve the results of ethnic cleansing in the borderlands. According to them, Serbs who moved in from various other regions of the former Yugoslavia should continue to live in the occupied areas. However, the Croatian side wants to prevent this.

It is insisting on strict implementation of the Vance peace plan. Most of all, it is necessary to implement the second phase of the peace operation, which provides for the disarming of paramilitary Chetnik formations, camouflaged in the uniforms of various police forces, and to establish new police forces in accordance with the ethnic structure of the population, for which the Croatian MUP [Ministry of Internal Affairs] will be responsible. That is also the precondition for implementation of the third phase of this plan—the return of exiles and refugees. If that does not come about, then there could be undesirable incidents, because the exiles definitely want to go home. But if they set out without guarantees of their safety, then one cannot rule out the possibility of clashes and major bloodshed.

Serb Krajina Democrats Unite Before Elections

92BA1443E Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Sep 92 p 6

[Article by Milan Cetnik: "Factions of the Serbian Democratic Party Are Uniting"]

[Text] Knin, 14 Sep—The incumbent administration in the Serbian Republic Krajina [RSK] has finally relented and decided to call elections. Has this move resulted from an angry split in the top government leadership and the endless squabble sessions of the government come down to?

Informed sources say that pressure has been exerted even from the top levels of government of the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia]. Dobrica Cosic, says one source, has expressed the assessment in talks with figures on the Krajina political scene that Krajina has a "revolutionary government" and that elections would stabilize the situation in the krajina republic.

Babic: Who Is Responsible for the Miljevci Case?

The first major shifts on the political scene began when the election was announced. The Knin Opstina Assembly, whose president is Milan Babic, adopted a decision to extend its patronage once again over Radio Knin, which had been "taken away," and called for removal of General Milan Torbica, commander of the General Staff of the Krajina TO [Territorial Defense]. These moves by Babic and the very convening of the opstina Assembly at this time (it had not met for more than a year) are interpreted as the beginning of a campaign maneuver by this experienced and wily politician. Babic himself, in a statement to POLITIKA, says that Krajina came about through an association of opstinas and that the central power, which still has not been shaped sufficiently must rely on the opstina administrations.

The Knin radio station, Babic believes, which was taken away by use of police force, must be restored to its founder—the Knin Opstina Assembly, and he mentioned that he personally has nothing against Krajina having a unified information system. (It is interesting that the Krajina government has also observed that there are no republic media and that the election campaign

will be conducted through local radio-TV stations, thereby indirectly placing even Knin radio under opstina administration.)

The removal of General Torbica, Babic says, has been requested because of the largest slaughter in the war—the tragedy on Miljevci Plateau. "The command bears responsibility for the Miljevci slaughter, and General Torbica is the most responsible in the system of command," Babic said.

In a Unified Kingdom of Serbs

The news that the perpetually quarreling factions of the Serbian Democratic Party [SDS] are coming together has aroused the greatest attention and quite a bit of surprise in Knin. At the moment, the SDS is divided into at least three groupings—Babic's wing, the "original" SDS around Radoslav Tanjga, and members of the SDS who hold office in the government administration (for whom the two previous factions figure as an opposition, and who, by instituting a moratorium, have prohibited the activity of their own party). Milan Babic has confirmed that contacts are now being made with the people around Tanjga, that there is a desire to merge the leaderships of the SDS and to participate in the election as a unified party.

Radoslav Tanjga also responded in the affirmative in a statement for our newspaper, emphasizing that this is "an ongoing project" and that unification of the factions of the SDS is going well. As Tanjga sees it, the election is extremely important "because of us and the world," and he gives the best chance to the SDS.

It was interesting to hear what the two leaders think about Krajina's newly created parliament being elevated to a constitutional assembly. Babic says No, possibly allowing amendment (who still wants to change "his" constitution), while Tanjga believes that this is a matter for agreement among the victorious parties, and that he is personally in favor. On the idea of the krajina republic becoming a principality with a hereditary prince from the Karadjordjevic dynasty, Tanjga thinks that this is not a bad idea if certain elements were so inclined, but that a republic is more suitable at this moment. Babic says that Krajina as a principality would fit into a Unified Kingdom of Serbs, that the most important thing now is for government to function and that the question of the principality should be decided by the people in a referendum.

Both of the party leaders believe that the Serbian Radical Party of Krajina will be a "good rival" in the election, and they also mentioned the Krajina Socialists, and they hope that the political scene will be filled out with several more parties.

Babic meanwhile particularly emphasized several times that the Krajina SDS is the only party registered with the Ministry of Justice of the Krajina government and that he will not allow his party to be put through the registration process once again.

Shrinking the Room for Manipulation

Milan Babic did not respond with a "yes" to the question of whether he would run in the presidential election, but several of the phrases he used and his discrete smile amounted to that kind of response.

Consensus on the majority election system proposed by the government was not reached by a long shot at the recent round table of the "government and opposition."

It is difficult to judge whether the parliament will respect these opinions and how it will arbitrate.

The most essential thing is that Krajina, the westernmost Serbian republic, is finally (for the first time since it came into being) going to have an assembly and president of the republic on the basis of the will of the electorate.

Any opposition group will have to recognize the legitimacy of that government, and the room for manipulation and imposition of government administrations by powerful people outside Krajina will be very much reduced.

The election and legitimization of political institutions will make it possible for the interest of the Serbian people of Krajina in its state to be authentically defined, clear, and more powerfully presented.

Disturbances, Protests Reported in Refugee Centers
AU2909181292

[Editorial Report] Ljubljana DELO in Slovene on 25 September publishes on page 3 under the headlines "Bloke Rebellion a Bad Omen for Future Relations with Locals" and "Tension Also in Murska Sobota Refugee Centers" two reports of 500 and 600 words respectively on disturbances in refugee camps, written by Marjana Triler and Ivan Gerencer.

Marjana Triler in her report says that "disturbances and protests by a group of approximately 60 refugees, most of whom were women" took place on 22 September in the Velike Bloke refugee center, which hosts 481 refugees. According to her, "mental anxiety and nervousness" have been building up in the center for quite a while; "however, the boiling point was reached on 22 September when the management of the refugee center made a decision to take away the status of a refugee—which also implies expulsion from the country—from five men and five women due to repeated breaches of house regulations and discipline." The reporter continues to say that 60 demonstrators said that "the group of refugees who take part in transport, delivery, and distribution of food and washing up of the dishes enjoys numerous special privileges." The report carries statements by Mitja Zemljak, head of Velike Bloke refugee center, who adds that "one could hear several imputations and lies on that occasion, which we can rebuff with arguments at any moment." The reporter then says that "due to the timely arrival of the policemen, who acted correctly," the protests died down after three hours and the management of the center annulled its decision to take away refugee status from the aforementioned 10 refugees. In the continuation of the report, Mitja Zemljak denies a statement made by a refugee for the Slovene Television who claimed that refugees had not received any fruit for three months. He lists all the local humanitarian organizations and individuals who helped the refugees in the past, adding that the refugees—majority of whom are Muslims—received "the least aid from their religious organizations." Finally, Zemljak expresses worry that such a statement—"which the refugee doubtlessly uttered on the spur of the moment"—could result in a negative attitude of the locals toward the refugees."

Ivan Gerencer in his reportage from the refugee centers in Vidonci and Domanjsevci near Murska Sobota, writes that the old school in Vidonci is currently being refurbished to accommodate some 500 refugees during the winter. The report says that the German town of Ingolstadt donated some 50,000 German marks worth of aid to make the school habitable and install central heating. Among other things, the following two passages of Gerencer's report appear boxed within the body of the text:

"Conflicts among the refugees and also between them and the personnel who work in the centers are occurring in the refugee centers in Vidonci and Domanjsevci, too. It happens that discontented refugees throw the food away and then complain that they do not get enough food. The refugees in both centers are still receiving three meals a day. They must prepare breakfast and supper themselves in the kitchens of both centers while the inns supply their lunch. Children also get an afternoon snack. At the recommendation of the medical service, they also get fruit at least once a week. Numerous refugees reject some types of food, which also applies to powdered milk and tea. Arguments and conflicts also arise as a result of refugees' laziness. Despite all this, the management of the center insisted on a decision that male refugees must help in the refurbishing and rebuilding of the center in Vidonci. Female refugees also are supposed to help with light farm work [zemeljska dela]. Slavko Jauk, head of civilian defense in the commune, also said that all who breach the agreed-upon house regulations or cause a tense atmosphere and conflicts, will be moved to an abandoned guard house at Hodos. The refugee center in Vidonci will be fenced so that the refugees would not be disturbed and bothered by uninvited visitors, and also to facilitate the center's personnel better control over their movements."

The report also says: "As the members of various religious sects are agitating the refugees and procure them to undertake various actions, the center banned their visits. However, none of the refugees will be hindered from carrying out or participating in religious ceremonies."

Federal

Panic Sees U.S. Trip as 'Incredibly Successful'

LD3009204292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1706 GMT 30 Sep 92

[Text] Belgrade, 30 Sep (TANJUG)—Considering the circumstances, the trip was incredibly successful. This was how Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Panic summed up his one-day visit to the United States on his return today to Belgrade.

Panic began the news conference organized at Belgrade airport by stating that the Yugoslav flag is still flying in front of the UN building and that the Yugoslav nameplate is still in place at UN Headquarters. This, he said, was achieved after a great struggle and at the last moment.

After a great deal of work on the text of the resolution, which originally covered 13 pages, it was reduced to only two paragraphs, of which the essential one is the one specifying that Yugoslavia will not take part in the work of the UN General Assembly, Panic explained. "We are still members of the United Nations. This is a great success, because the world was ready to expel us. I consider that this is a change in the attitude of the United Nations toward Yugoslavia," the Yugoslav prime minister said.

In support of his assessment of the success of the visit, Panic said that the United States had changed its position on Yugoslavia from extremely negative to positive, and that the attitudes of the EC, and Great Britain as president of the EC, and of UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali had also changed.

Most important was the fact that the United States had for the first time officially supported the new Yugoslav Government, Panic said.

The prime minister nevertheless assessed as the most important news the fact that he thought the Yugoslav request for oil imports for humanitarian purposes would be met on time, before the winter. This was very likely and means there will be an oil supply for heating schools, nurseries, and apartments, Panic added. He informed journalists that in addition to this request for approval of oil imports, a further request was submitted—for the partial and gradual lifting of the remaining sanctions.

Panic also indicated the positive change in the attitude of the U.S. press towards Yugoslavia, particularly toward the Federal Government. He assessed the meeting with the foreign ministers of the five permanent member countries of the UN Security Council as historic. We fought resolutely and won support for our position, Panic said.

Before giving journalists the opportunity to ask questions, Panic also assessed as important the fact that, unlike earlier occasions when everyone had "gone their own way," this time the Yugoslav Government UN delegation had worked as a strong team.

Asked to comment on accusations about his bad services to Yugoslavia circulating among the domestic public during his trip to America, Panic said that he could reply in many ways. He assessed the best reply as a biblical saying: Forgive them Lord, they know not what they do.

Asked whether a Tudjman-Izetbegovic agreement would endanger his peace efforts, Panic gave a negative reply, adding that unfortunately he had some bad news, such as that Muslim and other countries have stepped up military assistance to the Bosnian Muslims. I kept explaining in the United States that peace could not be made with more arms, Panic added. Regarding today's Tudjman-Cosic talks in Geneva, the prime minister said that there could be no better news. I hope that Cosic will make a step forward, which will ease the way to a final peace agreement with Croatia, he added.

Asked whether there are still UN resolution demands that Yugoslavia has not met, Panic said that there were many unfulfilled demands. "A lot has been done, but, let us say, there is still no satisfactory evidence for the United Nations that paramilitary formations from Yugoslavia are not going to Bosnia-Hercegovina. Although I asked the United Nations three times to post observers on roads and airports, this has not been done. They still claim, however, that this transfer continues. The government maintains that this is not happening," the prime minister said.

Panic added that the problem was also in ethnic cleansing, which was still taking place. "The next issue is Kosovo and minority rights of the Albanians. We must work on a university being opened for them, if they want to attend," Panic said, recalling that the problem was also that several hundred professors had been dismissed. A way to return them to work must be sought, he added.

The Yugoslav prime minister underlined that his main task was to start democratization and economic revival in Yugoslavia. Assessing that Yugoslavia was living in economic tragedy, he stressed that his responsibility was to change that. Democratization in Yugoslavia has nevertheless, Panic assessed, started. He said that this could be seen in many things, such as the support the Yugoslav Government was getting in the world.

"We must change things here: have democratic elections, a free press. Television must be divided. My first task will be to give the first channel to the Federal Government, and the second to the Serbian, because falsehoods are being told. In a democratic system, one can defend oneself, and this is normal. But in our system, we have a tragedy called unfree press," Panic said.

Cosic: Geneva Talks Reached 'Important Results'

LD0110094792 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0058 GMT 1 Oct 92

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Oct (TANJUG)—Late tonight FRY President Dobrica Cosic returned to Belgrade from Geneva where he met and talked with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman in the presence and with the help of Cyrus Vance and David Owen, cochairmen of the international Conference on Yugoslavia. Apologizing to journalists for having kept them waiting for a long time immediately upon his arrival at Batajnica airfield, the Yugoslav president explained his long delay by the fact that he and his associates "waited for our collocutors to accept those decisions and ideas which are, according to my profound conviction, of mutual interest and to the mutual benefit."

Dwelling on the results of the first top-level Yugoslav-Croatian dialogue, FRY President Dobrica Cosic said in a brief press statement:

"Those were very long, very strenuous, and wide-ranging talks, but talks which we led wishing to achieve results. In my mind, we have reached some very important results. What history has done in decades, not to say centuries, cannot be undone by one dialogue, nor by an agreement, in one day. Years, possibly decades, will be needed for the big tremor that hit this area to calm down, that epoch-making tremor which I would call the disintegration of the state of the South Slaves, and not only of the state of the South Slaves, but also of an order for which much blood was shed.

"Such tremors will not calm down for a long time. We will have to invest exceptional efforts, perhaps even two generations will use their energy to start a new life in which an optimum interdependency of this area will be taken into account.

"We definitely achieved some results today. I do not wish to comment on them now, but indeed we have made several significant steps towards peace, towards the consolidation of this region, and towards the normalization of relations with the Republic of Croatia. These are incipient steps, they may be small but are definitely aimed in the right direction.

"It would be unjust if I failed to mention the extremely important role, which I assess as very successful, that Cyrus Vance and David Owen played at whose initiative this dialogue took place. They did so much to make such different people, with such different views, such opposed views, and such opposed people find a modus vivendi which is both rational and purposeful for both sides.

"We have agreed to resume talks after we have done some work we agreed to do. The talks will be resumed on 20 October. Until then our state and the Army should carry out certain duties. I firmly believe that we will perform that duty stemming from Vance's plan, from a decision that our Army withdraw from the area of Dubrovnik, from the Croatian territory, and leave Prevlaka to the care and protection of the United Nations.

"For our public this act can cause certain anxiety and fear. It can cause even more dissatisfaction among the less informed. I am calling on citizens of Yugoslavia, particularly citizens of Montenegro and Boka Kotorska Bay to remain calm, to trust that we will do that job to their benefit, in our mutual interest.

"Our citizens have no reason to fear, they should not worry. Nothing bad will happen. That territory will be kept for their life and I hold that everything that will happen afterwards, and in every case very important and big things will happen, will be to their benefit, i.e. to the benefit of our entire community," FRY President Dobrica Cosic concluded in his press statement upon his return from Geneva.

Poll Shows Majority Favor Reapplying to UN

AU3009145592 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Sep 92 p 5

[D. Bisenic report: "Majority in Favor of Reapplying]

[Text] Belgrade—More than half, or, to be more precise, 56.5 percent of the people involved in a telephone poll by the Partner Agency hold the view that Yugoslavia should reapply for membership of the United Nations, 33 percent are against it, and 10.5 percent do not hold a view on it. Out of those polled, 91.5 percent were aware of the fact that Yugoslavia had been expelled and 8.5 percent were not.

Those who think that Yugoslavia should not reapply for membership of the United Nations stated the following reasons: "we should not beg" (29.7 percent); "we can live on our own" (12.5 percent); "we were unjustly expelled" (14.1 percent); "we have already been in the United Nations" (10.9 percent); "we are co-founders of the United Nations" (4.7 percent); "we founded Yugoslavia" (6.3 percent); "we will continue to be attacked" (10.9 percent); 4.7 percent did not have a reason or did not want to state it, and 1.6 percent stated various other reasons.

The main reasons for Yugoslavia's expulsion mentioned by those polled are: "a plot by the big powers" (35 percent); "overthrowing the authorities" (23 percent); "the world is insufficiently informed" (13.5 percent); "responsibility for the war" (10 percent); "Yugoslavia's bad policy" (9 percent); 4 percent said they did not know; 3.5 percent did not want to answer the question; and 2 percent mentioned other reasons.

The poll was conducted the day before yesterday [24 September]. The sample consisted of 200 randomly selected citizens of Belgrade, Subotica, Novi Sad, Nis, Vranje, Kragujevac, and Uzice. The composition of the sample more or less corresponds to that of the population, but there was some deviation as regards the education of those polled. There were fewer people with lower

education levels (those without any schooling at all, those who had not completed their primary school education, and those with only primary school education constituted 17.5 percent of the sample) than those with secondary and higher education (52.5 percent had secondary and 30 percent had higher education). The agency explained that this reflected the composition of telephone owners, and that such shifts are inevitable and usual.

Cosic Adviser Talks of 'Apocalyptic Times'

AU3009175792 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Sep 92 p 8

[S. Bogavac report: "Cosic and Panic, Great Communicators"]

[Text] It is unrealistic to expect that the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina will stop just because sanctions have been slapped against the Serbian side, as there has never been a one-sided war. This is what Prof. Svetozar Stojanovic, special adviser to the president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY], said yesterday. Elaborating further on the UN sanctions against FRY, Stojadinovic said that "the ultimate objective of the sanctions is the totally unrealistic expectation that the Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina will agree to commit suicide just to save the Serbs in the FRY."

Dobrica Cosic's adviser also judged as unrealistic the possibility of forces seizing power in FRY that would leave the Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina to their fate: "Such authorities would not last one day." Dr. Stojanovic spoke yesterday at the Institute for international politics and economics, in connection with the new issue of the magazine MEDJUNARODNI PROBLEMI [International problems] on the topic "The World and the Yugoslav Crisis." That was the first such performance by one of President Cosic's closest assistants and advisers.

Stressing that the "main causes of our tragedy are not external," but here at home, Stojanovic said that the tragedy could have been avoided, or at least diminished, had the international community acted in "a less punitive, and more constructive and preventive manner." Stojanovic believes that the Serbs should have been approached in a "therapeutic and constructive way," they should have been told that nobody was denying their right to self-determination, but that, at the moment, it could not be achieved outside Serbia and Montenegro—without causing the horrible consequences that could affect the world community. The world could have demanded then that the Serbs remain within their earlier borders, and in return—"taking into account the fact that the Serbs had been victims of an act of genocide"—given them "special international guarantees, economic, political and any other assistance." Instead, "the world behaved according to a stereotype."

When it comes to the internal contribution to the tragedy, Stojanovic said that "mature nations and mature states have special teams for special situations," while immature nations and states seemed convinced that one team can handle successfully every situation. Stojanovic used the image of an organ player who plays only in one key, without even trying to use the others.

Stojanovic thinks that a particular problem concerning the world and the Yugoslav crisis are the international information services, which have shown a dangerous unison in interpreting the events in the former Yugoslavia. Stojanovic is concerned because this is not accidental or a result of bribing the reporters, but rather due to "structural weaknesses of the media in democratic countries," where "governments have the power to influence the media," particularly in foreign affairs.

Speaking about this problem, Stojanovic says that one of the main tasks of the federal government was to "try and open communications, both internal ones and those towards the world." He believes that both have been done "successfully, and in a short time," and he praises the contribution given to this end by President Cosic and Prime Minister Panic, calling them "great communicators."

When it comes to "looking into the future," Stojanovic keeps repeating that we are living in "apocalyptic times," when "policies and politicians capable of profound strategic thinking are needed, or mankind will be destroyed." As for more immediate events, Stojanovic believes that "the sanctions will help those powers in this country that flourish in autocratic, communist, closed-type societies."

Roundtable Adopts Election Rules for Media

LD3010235892 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2307 GMT 28 Sep 92

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 28 (TANJUG)—The round table between the authorities and opposition of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on Monday [28 September] adopted the rules of conduct of the media during the upcoming election campaign, including the formation of multi-party executive boards in which all the parliamentary parties are to be represented on the parity basis.

The round table's working group proposed that the executive boards include also independent media experts and media representatives. The proposal was adopted by consensus—16 votes "for," with the governments and the ruling parties of Serbia and Montenegro abstaining from the vote.

According to the adopted rules, the boards are to elect professional leaderships and editorial teams by November 1.

The current situation in the state media does not guarantee the right to objective information and equal access to the media for all political parties, participants of the round table said. The Radio-Television Serbia "does not

have a multi-party composition and does not express the real situation of the political public opinion," they added.

The round table called on the Federal Assembly to appoint a Federal Media Council which would be composed of representatives of all the parliamentary parties and would define the operative rules of conduct for the media during the elections campaign.

The council would monitor and estimate the conduct of the media, and the media would be obliged to announce the council's integral reports within 24 hours, in prime-time programmes and without commentaries.

Officers Sentenced for Downing EC Helicopter

LD0110075492 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 30 Sep 92

[Text] Sentences have been passed in Varazdin today on officers of the former Yugoslav People's Army who were charged with the downing of the EC helicopter at the beginning of the year over Novi Marof. Dobrivoje Opacic, duty officer of Bihac airfield, and Emir Sisic, the MiG pilot, have been sentenced in absentia to 20 years imprisonment.

Chamber Delegates on Panic's 'Hasty' Statement

92BA1443F Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Sep 92 p 5

[Article by V. Vignjevic: "The Prime Minister's Lack of Forethought"]

[Text] Belgrade—In connection with Prime Minister Milan Panic's statement that Yugoslavia will apply for membership in the United Nations, we tried yesterday to learn the position of the leadership of the Yugoslav Assembly, but we were told that Chamber Presidents Jugoslav Kostic and Dr. Milos Radulovic were absent on business. The federal deputies, members of the SPS [Socialist Party of Serbia], and the SRS [Serbian Radical Party], however, issued very harsh assessments of this gesture by Panic in statements to BORBA. They announced that there would be a debate on this in the next session of the Assembly, on 22 September, although the issue of the FRY's [Federal Republic of Yugoslav] membership in the United Nations is not on the agenda.

Gorica Gajevic, deputy of the Socialist Party of Serbia in the Citizens Chamber, believes that we should not apply for membership in the United Nations when we are already a member. That means not fighting for the continuity of the FRY, and in making that kind of statement Panic actually intends to contest it. That is why I think that we must not turn a deaf ear to all this; it would be irresponsible for the Federal Assembly to let such a statement pass.

"My view is that the prime minister in retirement, Milan Panic, with his statement about application for Yugoslavia's membership in the United Nations has proven to even the last 'doubting Thomases' that he is a traitor to the Serbian people because with that move, he destroys the FRY's entire diplomatic position," says Vojislav Seselj, president and chief of the deputy caucus of the Serbian Radical Party in the Citizens Chamber. "If we apply for membership in the United Nations, what is the point of Yugoslavia in the first place? We preserved the Yugoslav State in order to maintain constitutional continuity and to maintain its international status. And if we were to consent to the new state, why should it be called Yugoslavia at all—it makes no sense whatsoever."

Mileta Ilic, deputy of the Socialist Party of Serbia in the Republic Chamber, also announced, just like Seselj, a hot debate in the Assembly concerning Panic's statement. This kind of statement by the federal prime minister and his behavior just 15 days following a vote of confidence casts doubt on the Assembly decision, Ilic said. The big question is whether confidence should have been placed in Panic in spite of the earlier mistakes concerning certain key political issues. Does this statement by Panic represent gratitude to the majority parliamentary party, the SPS, which actually expected that the prime minister would change his method of operation and the policy he has been conducting? It is now obvious that even then it was not a question of random mistakes, but of the policy he advocates; policy that does not have support among the citizens when it comes to recognizing Yugoslavia's legitimacy.

Ilic adds that this was a hasty statement, which could have very adverse consequences for the entire situation in Yugoslavia. If application should be made for the FRY to subsequently join the United Nations, as a practical matter this would jeopardize Yugoslavia's continuity, which at no point has been in dispute, nor could it be in dispute, from the standpoint of the legality and legitimacy of the new state. Yugoslavia has never ceased to function regardless of what borders are involved. It would be a kind of absurdity for the United Nations to recognize the parts of Yugoslavia that have left it, and not to recognize those which are maintaining Yugoslavia's continuity on the basis of a constitution legitimately adopted.

Panic's statement can for all those reasons be called a statement of absurdity because neither he nor anyone in this country can on his own, nor through the body that he heads, decide such a fateful issue as this one. Accordingly, Ilic concluded, all decisions of this kind, even if they are made by the Federal Government, are unconstitutional and illegitimate.

Composition of Panic Cabinet Discussed

92BA1443C Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Sep 92 p 7

[Article by Branislav Radivojsa: "Mostly Experts in the Government"]

[Text] When on 14 July Milan Panic proposed an incomplete government of the FRY it was said to consist

partly of experts and partly of party people. The five new ministers appointed last Friday have made Panic's cabinet still more "expert": Three ministers have come directly "from production," while two are also not party candidates. In rounding out his cabinet (he has kept the military portfolio for himself), the prime minister has taken a step further in his relatively independent personnel policy vis-a-vis the incumbent parties.

This can particularly be said of the SPS [Socialist Party of Serbia], which until now, according to interpretations of people from that party, has had few of its people in the government. As Dr. Borisav Jovic declared in the last issue of NIN, back in July Panic accepted two personnel proposals from the Socialist Party, one for the minister of foreign affairs (Vladislav Jovanovic) and one for the minister of the economy (Nikola Sainovic), while the nomination of Dr. Oskar Kovac as deputy prime minister "did not come from us, but we supported it as though it had."

Disputed Jurisdictions

Last week's completion of the membership of the Federal Government weakened still more this connection with the authorities in Serbia, and to some extent also complicated the connection. That is, Vladislav Jovanovic submitted his resignation on the well-known grounds that the (Panic) government "is pursuing ever more openly a policy opposed to the interests of Serbia and the Serbian people," and in the meantime, the prime minister has taken onto his team a man who certainly does not enjoy the favor of the republic government. We are referring to Dragan Jovanovic, until recently director of the Serbian SDK [Social Accounting Service], who was removed from that post by a decision of Dr. Radoman Bozovic because of alleged participation in connection with the substitution of currency.

Certain other names should be added that probably would not have been nominated by the current Serbian authorities. We are referring, for example, to Tibor Varadi and Momcilo Grubac, minister of justice and minister for human rights, respectively, who are recognized specialists, but also notable members of the opposition in the Serbian Assembly. And now that we have mentioned Dr. Oskar Kovac, it should be kept in mind that this distinguished economist and deputy of the SPS in the Republic Assembly expressed very great reservations about the concept for maintaining social ownership being pursued by the Bozovic government.

In the federal executive branch, there are also certain portfolios, which in Serbia they did not consider to be in the jurisdiction of the FRY. Dr. Danilo Z. Markovic, republic minister of education, spoke about this recently in connection with the report that Dr. Ivan Ivic, minister for education and culture in the Government of Yugoslavia, will be visiting Kosovo and working to open schools in the Albanian language. Borisov Jovic also spoke about this: "We felt that there were no grounds for (Panic) to establish ministries and appoint ministers for portfolios for which the Federal Government or federation has no jurisdiction, but (he) did not accept that either."

At the same time, Serbia, at least according to unofficial statements, has "restored" Vladislav Jovanovic to the post of republic foreign minister, which immediately aroused an extensive debate about the powers of the republic executive authorities in the new Yugoslavia.

A related question is how Radoman Bozovic is going to reconstruct his government. That is, when reconstruction of the Serbian Government was announced back in the early summer it was said that it depends on the "appearance" of the cabinet of the federal prime minister. With the formation of the new Federal Government, certain portfolios in the republic would allegedly be abolished or minimized. In view of the most recent development of events in the relationship between the top federal and republic leaderships, this "pruning" of portfolios in Serbia might not occur.

A "Likable" Prime Minister

Another interesting aspect of all this is the position of Montenegro. When the SPS and SRS [Serbian Radical Party] proposed at one time that Dr. Milan Panic be federal prime minister, the Montenegrins threatened the first strain on relations in the state, which had just been formed, because the prime minister was not to come "from their ranks." Probably in order to smooth out that conflict, it was said at the time that Montenegro would get key portfolios in the Panic government.

This promise was partially fulfilled in the "first drawing." The incomplete government on 14 July included five Montenegrins. However, last Friday Panic did not continue that practice (the new ministers were not from Montenegro), but politicians from the southern republic are silent, which some people associate with what has happened in the meantime. Panic, although he "took away" their post of prime minister, is obviously "likable" to the Montenegrins, so that not only are they not attacking him, but during the recent Assembly debate on the vote of confidence, they were his defenders.

Action Against Radio Journalists Examined

92BA1450B Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19-20 Aug 92 p 18

[Article by R.D.: "Profession Without Protection"]

[Text] Belgrade—The second disciplinary proceeding against Rade Radovanovic and Slobodan Stupar, journalists of the First Program of Radio Belgrade, before the Council of Radio-Television Serbia has halfway begun. The trial of Slobodan Stupar has been interrupted until next Tuesday because of the insistence that the panel include a journalist of Radio-TV Serbia, because the proceeding is above all a "trial of the profession." Stupar himself asked that that be Dusan Cukic, president of the

Federation of Yugoslav Journalists, which is supposed "to be a guarantee that the journalist will be protected."

Especially because, as he put it, Kosta Krancanic, president of the SNS [Federation of Serbian Journalists], would not be able to participate in the work of the commission because he is one of the plaintiffs.

Rade Radovanovic, who, like Stupar, has been accused of "failure to perform work duties in May and June," with the addition of "not reporting for work," in answering the accusations referred to the entire proceeding as an extension of the absurd proceedings in Radio Belgrade. They began, he said, a year ago—when the new leadership, headed by Momir Brkic, was brought in—a leadership which, contrary to professional criteria, encouraged warmongering propaganda.

As for the specific charges, Radovanovic said that "no tasks could in fact be performed," because he received no assignments from the editors, nor any answers to his proposals. What is more, in "his" sector—social welfare policy, along with his three fellow workers—he never even learned what his specific obligations were.

Radovanovic simply rejects the charge of not coming to work, because it is not true, and this, he says, can be confirmed not only by his fellow workers, but also by his immediate superior, Momcilo Boskovic, with whom he talked every day.

Momir Brkic, as he has regularly stated in POLITIKA, began this trial because he was not satisfied with the results of the first one, but perhaps it will be evident whether he will be satisfied with this one in Radovanovic's next hearing, to which, in addition to him, other editors of the First Program of Radio Belgrade have also been summoned. And the result of the trial, which is similar to what in the annals of self-management socialism was referred to as "ideological-political differentiation," will determine whether that will be the end of it.

General Comments on Persecution of JNA Officers

92BA1450D Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 4 Sep 92 pp 7-8

[Open letter by Major General Simeon Tumanov, former deputy chief of the Yugoslav Army Security Administration; dated 31 August: "Concealment of the Real Culprit"]

[Text] To Mr. Dobrica Cosic, FRY president

To Mr. Milan Panic, FRY prime minister

To Mr. Momcilo Grubac, minister for human rights and rights of ethnic minorities in the FRY Government

To Mr. Tibor Varadi, minister of justice in the FRY Government

Esteemed Gentlemen,

I am addressing you in an open letter in the esteemed publication, NIN, because I am certain that it will be published in its pages. In this way, I want to inform you and the general Yugoslav public of the prosecution and rigged trials against a sizable number of personnel of the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] and members of the security agencies. All the prosecutions, criminal charges, and investigations that have been opened against these personnel have been conducted on the basis of fallacious arguments, which have gone through the political and media mill in such a way that they are all proclaimed traitors and spies of the Serbian people and the Army of Yugoslavia in advance.

A purge of non-Serb personnel in all top positions and posts has been carried out since March of this year in the Army through the process of its transformation and the renewing of personnel. The general public is aware that all these personnel have carried on their shoulders all the golgothas of war, human and family sufferings, in the belief that they are on the side of a just struggle of a people whom the Army has taken under its protection. It can be easily established with a large number of examples that the process of ethnic cleansing of the Army is in its final phase in the ranks of the Army of Yugoslavia. All of this is being carried out as directed by the "new personnel" in the General Staff of the Army of Yugoslavia in its Security Administration, with the full commitment of judicial bodies that have been created in the Military Prosecutors' Offices and Military Courts in order to play out the scenario.

I am addressing you on my own behalf and I am assuming the right to do so also in the name of those officers of the security agency who have been removed from their positions on these grounds, including those against which criminal proceedings are being conducted in the Military Court in Belgrade while they are being held in custody on dubious charges and invented facts: General Aleksandar Vasiljevic, Colonel Slobodan Rakocevic, and others accused of crimes which I and they never committed, neither against Yugoslavia, nor against its army, Serbia, nor the Serbian people. A large number of facts and a legal investigation based on law can prove all of these assertions:

—An investigation has been conducted for more than six months against Col. Slobodan Rakocevic and other officers of the security agency in the command of the Air Force and Air Defense because of nonexistent crimes in the so-called Opera Affair. The protagonists have been serving the public continuous and sensationalist information about this affair and investigation to the effect that it will soon come to an end and will prove major "betrayals" by former leading personnel in the Security Administration and security agency of the Air Force and Air Defense on behalf of the Ustashi.

Gen. Nedeljko Boskovic, commander of the Air Force and Air Defense, and through them Branko Kostic, as the vice president of the former presidency of the SFRY, have with great ceremony deceived the public to the effect that the investigation against those arrested would be completed back in March of this year in some 10 days (no longer), because supposedly sufficient evidence had already been gathered concerning this "spy scandal" to convict all those involved. I will stand by the assertion that this investigation in the Military Court in Belgrade is at the very beginning and that is where it will remain except in the case of artificial constructs and deceptions. No one engaged in any espionage or terrorism, which they would like to prove at any cost, and on that basis accuse and convict honorable men and officers who have performed their missions responsibly. It is insane to suppose that leading personnel in the Security Administration are spies and that they carried out terrorist actions on the territory of the former Republic of Croatia.

—Captain Vladimir Jagar and many other members of the security agency of non-Serb nationality are being labeled as spies and on that basis removed from their posts and discharged. Is it possible that treason is being imputed to an honorable man and officer like Jagar? The public of this country and the world, and especially the military community, are aware of his virtues and values as a man and as a professional. He has been left homeless in Croatia since the Ustashi demolished his family home after proclaiming him a war criminal.

—Lieutenant Colonel Branko Strbac has been removed from his post because he spent more than five months in Croatian prisons as a security officer and was sentenced to five years in prison. He was removed from his post on the assumption that he could be a Croatian spy.

—All personnel of non-Serb nationality have been transferred out of the Security Administration as assumed traitors to the Serbian people and the Army of Yugoslavia.

—A "renewal of personnel" has been carried out in military judicial bodies to bring in people who will obediently take to their conclusion and confirm in court decisions the conceptions of the scenario writer in finding, apprehending, and convicting victims chosen in advance for the mistakes of commission and omission in the policy conducted by the top military leadership. The president of the Supreme Military Court, the president of the Military Court in Belgrade, and the military prosecutor of the Army of Yugoslavia and in the Belgrade Military District have been removed. Their positions have been taken by certain persons who were retired and who, from the very outset, have been part of Gen. Nedeljko Boskovic's group in finding spies and traitors in the top military echelons to be accused as those principally responsible for the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia.

—Gen. Boskovic took care to announce all the evidence on the alleged high treason of the top military leadership and counterintelligence officers of the Security Administration when in early May of this year, with two special policemen of the MUP [Ministry of Internal Affairs] of Serbia, he made the spectacular move of taking possession of the office of Gen. Vasiljevic, saying that he would soon arrest and convict him and me because a political decision had been made to that effect. All the related evidence had been presented previously by the press, and then that "evidence" also became documents of judicial bodies in the fabricated criminal charges and investigations to destroy men and their families.

Two trials are being instituted against me—a criminal trial for the crimes of terrorism, espionage, weakening the defensive capability of the Army, malfeasance, trading in human freedoms, divulging military secrets, etc., and a court martial. On 13 August of this year, the Military Disciplinary Court brought down a verdict that took from me the rank of general when not a single defense witness was called, nor did the court wish to interrogate them. This was done perfidiously so that I would relinquish the right to the pension for which I had qualified. All of this took place in my absence, because I informed the competent authorities by telegram that I was in Macedonia.

A brutal raid of my apartment was carried out in Belgrade with numerous military-political forces in the building and outside. Instead of evidence of my espionage and terrorist activity and other crimes, they took from my apartment several expired passes to enter the buildings of commands in which I performed my duties, a list of telephone numbers, and papers I wrote to graduate from military schools and academies. In the meantime, my current account in the Postal Savings Bank was frozen without any legal document, and I have been proclaimed a deserter, which is an absurdity and a deception, and I therefore attest the following:

1. In late February of this year, I was removed from the post of deputy chief of the Security Administration of the SSNO [Federal Secretariat for National Defense] and assigned to a post in the operations group of the General Staff of the JNA for cooperation with UN forces. A ukase of the SFRY Presidency retired me, with a group of 38 generals, with my service terminating no later than the end of August 1992. Along with everyone, I saw this act of the SFRY Presidency as a demand for transformation of the Army and the state, not as an act of reprisal. However, immediately thereafter, name-calling began through the press to the effect that as a general of non-Serb nationality I betrayed the interests of the JNA and Serbia.

2. Information carefully placed in the news media has charged me and Gen. Aleksandar Vasiljevic of trading in human freedoms in order to liberate Ustasha criminals, and I was accused of malfeasance and, among other things, of spying for the CIA.

I have never been a member of any commission or working group that conducted talks or drafted protocols and lists for exchange of prisoners. I was an operative carrying out decisions of the staff of the Supreme Command and did actually carry out two prisoner exchanges in Bosanski Samac. The competent commission drew up the lists in advance on the basis of protocols signed in Geneva and Budapest, as can easily be established. If there were oversights, they were not in the competence of the KOS [Counterintelligence Service], as is being insinuated, but of the competent authorities in the SSNO and military jurisprudence. It is nonsensical and absurd to associate this with abuses and material gain on my part.

3. It was in the authority of the Security Administration to do all the processing and selection of war prisoners in prison camps. The lawfulness for which I strove can be confirmed from the related documentation that exists, and which shows that all the true criminals were sentenced to prison terms. But they were nevertheless exchanged by a recent decision of government bodies of the FRY. Why is the attempt being made at any cost to impute abuses and stealing to me and Gen. A. Vasiljevic? The answer should be given by the scenario writers who have prepared the documents of the trumped-up and utterly unfounded charges and the criminal and court trials.

4. The fact that as a private citizen I bought a car and did so in Sarajevo, where I spent a good portion of my working life, is taken as irrefutable evidence that I engaged in criminal acts and malfeasance. Did I not have the right as an individual to solve my own personal problems and needs in a legal and lawful manner, as all the documentation in my possession, which the court does not honor, will show? In view of the subsequent transformation of Yugoslavia as a state, is there a need to invent deceptions, and on that basis present evidence that I bought a car nowhere else than in Sarajevo, or that I, like many other citizens, took a loan to purchase an apartment in compliance with all regulations in effect? The documentation in my possession does not support the imagined espionage for which the originators of the rigged scenario of charges and criminal prosecution would like to denounce me to the public and the courts. Everything I have acquired in a personal and professional way is the result of my work and commitment, and I present everything for scrutiny and verification.

5. The newly appointed chief of the Security Administration, Gen. Nedeljko Boskovic, announced all these charges and the arrest of me and Gen. Vasiljevic much earlier (back in March of this year), when through the intermediation of Branko Kostic he was brought out of retirement, again in highly visible fashion, to take the post of security chief in the Air Force and Air Defense in order to shed light on the "major espionage" in the Opera Affair. He has been doing everything in terms of unprecedented revanchism: inventing abuses and crime, to "avenge" those security personnel in the Air Force and Air Defense, who more than four years ago were removed from their positions in this service, because of incompetence and poor performance. The Opera Affair is thus an act of revanchism, reprisal, and nothing more. It is a farce of which Boskovic himself will be ashamed before his own conscience.

6. I assert with full responsibility that innocent people are being persecuted here. The outcome of the criminal proceedings being conducted against me, A. Vasiljevic, S. Rakocevic, and other officers and members of the JNA will be the greatest shame on all honest citizens of Yugoslavia and members of its Army.

I do not seek mercy and protection outside the law. I do seek and demand of you that within your competence and responsibility you make a disinterested examination of all the arguments and facts presented. It is a matter of my honor and the honor of all other members of the JNA affected by the unfounded charges.

It is a question of the truth, which everyone needs at this hour, and which will be of benefit to everyone.

Serbia

Sanctions Result in Layoffs; Production Down

LD3010205692 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1437 GMT 28 Sep 92

[Text] Belgrade, September 28 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Republic of Serbia had about 500,000 workers laid off with payment at the beginning of autumn as a result of the sanctions imposed by the United Nations Security Council against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, writes the Belgrade daily POLITIKA on Monday.

The rest of a total of 2.3 million employed workers are counting days until winter lay-offs, which may be as long as three months if the sanctions continue. Market surveys show that only 23 percent of the firms, mostly those which use domestic raw materials and sell goods to markets in Yugoslavia, have a chance to survive until the beginning of next year.

The number of the employed could drop to not more than 550,000 in January.

Official reports show that production was 21 percent lower in June, the first month of the blockade, than in the corresponding period last year. In July, the decline was 36 percent and in August as much as 45 percent.

The measures imposed by the Federal Government succeeded in reducing inflation from over 100 percent per month in June to around 42 percent in August.

Officials in the Federal Government say that inflation will not exceed 50 percent in the following months but economists claim that this will be a difficult task to achieve.

Industrial Production Down 38.5 Percent

LD0110114392 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1013 GMT 29 Sep 92

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 29 (TANJUG)—In August industrial production in Serbia was 38.5 percent down on the same period last year due to the effects of the international sanctions, the Chamber of Economy of Serbia (CES) said on Tuesday [29 September].

In the past eight months, production dropped by 16.9 percent compared to the same period last year, CES said.

A sudden drop in production was registered following May 30 after the U.N. Security Council slapped economic and political sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (made up of Serbia and Montenegro).

Despite a slightly lower production of electricity, this branch managed to completely meet all needs in the first eight months this year, CES said.

Oil production was up 4.6 percent on the same period last year, and gas by 6.3 percent. CES added that coal production rose by 2.8 percent and this trend is to be expected until the end of the year.

According to CES analysts, the metal and electrical manufacturing industries recorded the biggest drop in production due to their huge export-import dependency.

There were also many problems in the car manufacturing industry which employs 80,000 people. This industrial branch recorded a 46.1-percent drop in the past eight months.

Despite the difficulties, many metal works managed to master the manufacture of products which were previously imported from the former Yugoslav republics or from abroad, CES said.

Some examples of this are electric installations in anti-explosive protection devices, equipment for over-head long-distance electric lines, alternators for diesel engines, etc.

Roundtable Issues Declaration on Elections

92BA1443A Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Sep 92 p 5

[Article by Milenko Pesic: "Multiparty Elections on the Proportional Principle"]

[Text] After three weeks of proceedings, the federal roundtable has come close to its conclusion without having established by consensus between the government and opposition the key prerequisites for holding early elections. This is best illustrated by the declaration, whose text, insofar as it treats the election system and financing of political parties, the participants in the roundtable approved very painfully in the fourth plenary session.

The parties and the government have assigned Milan Panic's cabinet the task of turning everything they have agreed on directly into pieces of legislation. In writing the election law, the Federal Government is required to give serious consideration to the positions contained in the declaration on which majority agreement was reached at the roundtable; in particular, in the final determination of the number of electoral units into which the Serbian electorate is to be divided and the level of the qualifying percentage of the vote. These are the principles on which consensus was not reached.

The Government Is Determining the Number of Electoral Units

After the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS] withdrew its general position in favor of a majority election system, the participants in the roundtable achieved complete agreement that the early election should be organized exclusively on the proportional principle.

Most of the participants in the roundtable are of the opinion that Serbia should be one electoral unit and Montenegro another. The SPS and Government of Serbia are against Serbia being one election district, and the Montenegrin Government and representatives of the Democratic Party of Socialists [DPS] of Montenegro remained reserved.

The Federal Government, whose duty it is to find a way around the issue of the number of election units, will be interested in the result of the vote on the proposal that Serbia be divided into four electoral districts.

This proposal was favored by a majority of the participants present at the roundtable, 11 opposition parties, and the Federal Government. But that was not enough for this position to be included in the declaration as the proposal of the majority because it was short one vote. The four-district version for Serbia was supported by the Federal Government, the Democratic Party, the Democratic Party of Serbia, the Party of Yugoslavs, the People's Peasant Party, the Serbian Radical Party, the Republican Club, the League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia, the Serbian National Renewal, the Serbian Radical Party for Montenegro, the People's Party of Montenegro, and the Peasant Party of Serbia.

The roundtable did achieve consensus on the way in which deputy seats would be distributed. It unanimously supported d'Hondt's formula, which rejects election quotas and the elimination quotient.

A majority of the roundtable participants favored the position that winning 1 percent of the vote would qualify political organizations of ethnic minorities to enter parliament.

Majority agreement was also reached that said organizations filing slates must furnish 5,000 signatures in Serbia and 1,000 in Montenegro. The majority is in favor of a party having to put up candidates for at least two-thirds of the total number of seats up for election in the election

unit. For independent groups of citizens, that requirement would be half of the total number of seats up for election, of the total number of seats being voted on in the district.

Although a majority of the participants in the roundtable favored adoption of the law on citizenship before the election, should this not be possible, consensus was reached that not only citizens of the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia], but also nationals of the former SFRY would have the right to vote if they have resided for more than a year on the territory of the FRY. This at the same time means that refugees whose residence is temporary will not be able to give their votes to the parties.

It is the recommendation of most participants to the Federal Government that it examine the possibility of making it possible for our people living abroad to vote without returning to the homeland if they are citizens.

The view of the majority is that the conduct of the election should be monitored by the authorities for holding the elections, whose members include representatives of the parties or their coalitions and the competent courts. A majority of the participants in the roundtable agreed that a special oversight body should be formed to monitor implementation of all the agreements of the roundtable.

They all agreed that the Federal Government should invite observers from the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe to oversee the course of the election campaign and the elections themselves.

3 Million German Marks for the Campaign

Except for the Government of Serbia and the SPS, all participants in the roundtable agreed that the parliamentary elections in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia be held on the same day at all levels in the same electoral unit and according to the same principles (this does not apply to local elections). A majority was also in favor of conducting the presidential election simultaneously with the parliamentary elections.

Consensus also extended over the rules for financing political parties in campaign and election activities. The amount of 5,000 net personal paychecks, which at the official exchange rate of the National Bank of Yugoslavia is about 3 million German marks, will be furnished from the federal budget for the election campaign of the parties.

Because of objections to the proposed rules of behavior of the media in the early election, this document will be adopted in the next meeting of the roundtable.

Socialists Discuss Milosevic Candidacy Proposal

92BA1443D Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Sep 92 p 7

[Article by Rade Rankovic: "What Are the Socialists Going To Do?"]

[Text] Exactly 17 days are left before the opening of the Congress of the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS], which the membership was demanding for such a long time. Serbian Socialists will use the first weekend in October (3 and 4 October) to solve several problems: purging their own ranks, choosing a new president, adopting a new party platform (in the form of the program and bylaws), preparing for the upcoming elections....

If the time in advance of the elections in December 1990 is taken as the moment when the parties that are strongest today were born (and the SPS was created in the summer of '90, although to be sure, this occurred through integration of the LC [League of Communits] and SAWP [Socialist Alliance of Working People]), there is one interesting detail—the incumbent party is the only one that will have held an extraordinary congress in the interval between the two election campaigns.

Although the Socialists do not want to admit that the upcoming congress is "extraordinary," but refer to it as the "second," something from times past can be recognized in this detail. The word "extraordinary" might evoke undesirable associations and uncomfortable questions presumably from rank-and-file members and sympathizers.

Dissatisfaction With the Leadership

The question of a new leader of the party has become relevant these past days both in the public and also within the party. Although nowhere, at least officially, can one even hear a word in the SPS of criticism of the current leadership of the party, the choosing of a new chief also means dissatisfaction with the old leader. Although the Socialists will always refer to the bylaws, which state that at a congress—quite legally—new people are elected (including the president), it does not seem that this can be a satisfactory justification.

"Proposals for new people to be on the Main Committee and Executive Committee and for the president of the party are coming in daily from local and opstina committees. This will last until the congress actually opens," says Goran Percevic, member of the SPS Executive Committee. "The committee for preparing the congress and the Executive Committee of the party will put all the nominations together and present them to the congress."

He claims not to have heard that Slobodan Milosevic has consented to be nominated for president. "This has not gone through the Executive Committee," Percevic says.

At the same time, the Socialists are saying that the "constitutional discrepancy" in that the president of the republic cannot hold other public or professional office could be solved very simply—by amending the Constitution of Serbia.

Although the Socialists have all the preconditions for that alternative (a two-thirds majority in the parliament), the question remains of how first the opposition and then the public will react.

Steps in Which Sequence?

We should also recall the sequence of moves that followed in connection with (and after) Milosevic's election to be president of Serbia. When he was nominated as the president of the SPS for the office of president of Serbia, Milosevic was elected president in a direct election.

Referring to the provision of the Serbian Constitution, which was adopted only two months before the election (28 September 1990), but also to the "argument" that he should be the president of all the Serbs, and not only of sympathizers of the SPS, Milosevic submitted his resignation from the post of party leader.

This time the Socialists, in order to lay those unreconciled details to rest, could make the same moves in reverse order. First, amend the Constitution, and then make the nomination.

Kosovo

Democratic Alliance Official Views Situation

AU3009180292 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 29 Sep 92 p 3

[Interview with Fehmi Agani, deputy chairman of the Kosovo Democratic Alliance, by Gabor Stier in Kosovo; date not given: "Quiet Before the Storm in Kosovo—There Is A Constant Danger of Armed Conflict"]

[Text] The capital of Kosovo—Pristina—is quiet. The Serbian policemen are keeping the province under strict control. There is quiet, but one can see in the eyes of both the local Albanians and Serbs that the storm has not ended. The conflicts are irreconcilable. Sociologist Fehmi Agani, the deputy chairman of the Kosovo Democratic Alliance, gave us an interview at the party's headquarters, near the stadium, about the future and the position of the Kosovo Albanians.

[Stier] Prior to the London conference, Ibrahim Rugova, the head of the Kosovo Albanians, said that an armed conflict could also break out in Kosovo if the conference does not make any progress in settling their problem. Has the conference brought any genuine results?

[Agani] The Albanians in Kosovo do not connect their fate with the London conference. This is only a step toward the fulfillment of our desires. One can generally say about this conference that the Albanians are dissatisfied, because the conference would use special status and autonomy to solve our problem. We want more than that! The Albanians cannot be called a minority in the new Yugoslavia, because half of the Albanian nation lived in the former Yugoslavia. We are more numerous than all the Macedonians, Montenegrins, and Krajina Serbs together. Each of these nations has an independent state, so the Albanians' request cannot be treated as a minority issue, either.

Kosovo is not part of Serbia. On one hand, 90 percent of the population is Albanian; on the other hand, with an 87 percent participation during the elections in 1991, more than 90 percent of the voters opted for an independent and sovereign Kosovo. These people think that, with its systematic state terror of 12 years, Serbia lost every moral basis for the possession of Kosovo. Therefore, the solution lies in the creation of a Kosovo Republic, a demilitarized republic open to all its neighbors, including Serbia of course, and not in the concept adopted in London. This is true even if this conference dealt more with Kosovo than Serbia wanted.

[Stier] Federal President Milan Panic and Rugova, the leader of Albanians, met for the first time in London. Here, Panic promised to reexamine the laws valid in Kosovo. Could this exchange of views represent some kind of rapprochement in the positions?

[Agani] One does not have to interpret this meeting in a way that the two politicians might compromise on any of their demands. The only new thing this meeting has brought is that Panic recognized that the problem can only be solved peacefully if we talk to each other. Panic promised to open the university and abolish the discriminatory laws, but nothing has been carried out. The new school year began on 1 September, but 60,000 Albanian high-school students are not allowed to enter the schools, and teaching has also been banned in 48 general schools. The University of Pristina will only start teaching courses in October, and the students are taking their September exams in private houses. As for the laws, there is nothing legal in Kosovo. The state of emergency continues in effect there.

[Stier] So there are no signs of a solution to the Kosovo problem even after the appearance of Panic on the scene.

[Agani] No progress has been achieved yet. By this, I do not say that Panic does not want to improve the situation, but he is also practically helpless in this case. The power is in the hands of a rigid and ultrachauvinistic regime, a regime that is difficult to dismiss without radical measures.

[Stier] What does the creation of a small Yugoslavia mean for the Kosovo Albanians?

[Agani] This made our situation even more difficult. There was understanding toward our cause on the part of the Slovenes, Croats, and Bosnians in the old Yugoslavia. The new Yugoslavia is in fact a big Serbia. The other main reason is that the Albanians are mainly living in Kosovo and western Macedonia. There is a large number of Albanians living in Macedonia, about

700,000 people. There is a danger that, after the division of 1912, there will again be new borders here, and in this way the Albanians will live in three countries. This would be a big tragedy for us, and therefore, we are fighting for the creation of a Kosovo Republic.

[Stier] How does this Kosovo Republic envisage its relations with Albania? Can you think of the creation of a Greater Albania?

[Agani] This coexistence would be quite normal for us, because we are talking about one nation here, but the Serbs who live here and Serbia do not agree on this. Therefore, my party is for an independent Kosovo that would be open toward both Serbia and Albania. Thus, the border between the two countries, Kosovo and Albania, a border that is currently the most guarded one in Europe, where people are still killed, would practically cease to exist.

[Stier] Elections are expected to be held in the new small Yugoslavia in November. Under what conditions would you participate in these elections? Do you intend to participate at all?

[Agani] We did not follow the roundtable discussions. We are indifferent to the elections, and we are very unlikely to participate in them. On one hand, we stand for the independent Kosovo, and on the other we are living under such circumstances and such oppression that political participation is impossible. There is a state of emergency, and Kosovo is being directed through special committees. We are also under a complete media blockade, and the Albanian language television has not operated since July 1990. We had a whole-day program then, while now we only have a 15-minute translated version of the Serbian news in Albanian. Similarly to the factories and schools, some 1,300 people have been dismissed from television jobs. We practically do not have any of our people there anymore. In such a situation, how could we participate in the elections? I must also add that, in the tense Yugoslav situation, Serbia deliberately preserves this mood in Kosovo, too, because it is in the interest of Milosevic's team that the Albanians do not participate in the elections.

[Stier] What kind of relations do you have with the Serbian opposition?

[Agani] They represent a more advanced view on the Kosovo issue than the ruling party. They want to see the end of Milosevic's brutal attitude, but they would also like to keep Kosovo as part of Serbia. The Kosovo Democratic Alliance does not maintain any links with the Serbian opposition parties, but the Kosovo social democrats and the Parliamentary Party are in contact with them.

[Stier] As far as I can see, the conflicts over Kosovo cannot be reconciled and the patience of the Albanians is coming to an end. In your view, what is the likelihood that the armed conflict will be extended to Kosovo?

[Agani] In our view, if the oppression in Kosovo does not end, then this can lead to a bigger—even an armed—conflict. Similarly to other nations, we will not come to terms with a situation that can also be called occupation. Therefore, there is a realistic possibility and a constant danger. However, I believe that the armed conflict can be avoided. A number of factors increase the chances of a peaceful settlement. Serbia is getting increasingly tired, and it is not in a position to open another front. Belgrade is becoming increasingly under international control, and it would be difficult for it find a reason for fighting there, partly because of Kosovo's peace efforts. The fact that a conflict here could extend to other countries is also a moderating force. In case of an armed conflict, neither Albania nor the Albanians in Macedonia would remain indifferent. Therefore, there is a real possibility of a conflict because Serbia is maintaining a tense situation, and war is only one step away from this.

Students Inform UNESCO of Serbian Violence

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[Text] Tirana, September 29 (ATA)—The newspaper MESUESI reports that recently the Union of Kosovo Pupils has informed UNESCO of the new discriminating actions undertaken by the Serb chauvinists. The letter addressed to UNESCO says among other things:

Kosovo, inhabited 90 percent of ethnic Albanians, has long since been living under the terror applied by the military, police, and premilitary forces. The aim of the Serb expansionist and colonialist policy is the massive and forcible deportation of the autochthonous Albanians and the "ethnic purging" of Kosovo, so as to create big Serbia. Unfortunately, as a result of this policy, 115 persons have died (15 children), 600 wounded, 700,000 maltreated, and 7,000 poisoned. This runs contrary to all the conventions and agreements, which are signed also by those who today are running Serbia.

After apartheid was applied, the letter says, the schools were violently closed down leaving out 327,000 pupils of elementary schools, 67,614 pupils of secondary schools, dismissing from work 217,000 teachers. But for the school year 1991-1992 classes were held in private premises. Serb police have hindered the beginning of this school year and have resorted to fire arms to disperse the pupils, have arrested legitimate school directors and legitimate representatives of Albanian education (among whom Rexhep Osmani, chairman of Albanian Teachers' League, who is still held in prison), and confiscated the teaching plan programs, which were stripped of the communist ideology.

The letter addressed to UNESCO demands that the question of education of 400,000 pupils be raised in this organisation, that apartheid and discrimination be denounced through a resolution, so that Serb authorities be forced to remove the tanks and police from the schools and the legitimate representatives of education be released. Likewise the letter demands that an

UNESCO delegation visit Kosovo as soon as possible to get acquainted with the barbarous violence applied against an European people.

Montenegro

'Almost All' Parties Condemn Albanian Memorandum

92BA1454C Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Sep 92 p 14

[Article by B. Milosevic: "Reaction to Memorandum by Democratic Forum of Albanians in Montenegro: Special Status and Untruths"]

[Text] *Almost all parties in Montenegro condemned the memorandum in which special status—modern autonomy for Albanians in that republic—is sought; for whom were the untruths written about the number of members of the Albanian minority in Bar, Ulcinj, Plav, and Rozaj?*

Bar, 17 Sep—The memorandum by the Democratic Forum of Albanians in Montenegro has prompted almost every political party in that republic to speak up. The common denominator of these reactions is that the memorandum is a document whose basic goal is the fragmentation of Montenegro. Regardless of how harsh the reactions coming from various other quarters are, the impression is that they are strongest in Bar. Reactions are heard everywhere you turn, provoked most of all by the untruths about the number of members of the Albanian minority living in Bar, Ulcinj, Plav, Rozaj....

The authors of the memorandum assert that members of the Albanian national minority make up 90 percent of the total population in those opstinas. However, the truth is something entirely different. The highest percentage of the Albanian minority, according to last year's census, is in Ulcinj, a little more than 70 percent, while in Bar that percentage barely surpasses 10 percent. There are 615,207 people in all of Montenegro, and of that number 40,880, or 6.64 percent, are members of the Albanian minority. These figures are accessible to everyone, but the truth apparently does not suit some people, so that in this way, using their own discretion, they come up with their own figures on the nationalities living in individual opstinas....

People say that a frequently repeated untruth is quickly accepted as the truth, even by those who first circulated it. For those not acquainted with our situation, for the "world at large," for whom the figures in the memorandum are apparently intended, it is much easier to simply accept them than to deal with verifying them. Indeed, how many fabrications from this country have already been presented to the world as the truth!?

However, this is only one of a multitude of fabrications by the authors of the memorandum, who are concerned about the allegedly unequal status of their compatriots in relation to Montenegrins. Basing the memorandum on these "data," they write the following: "Special status, meaning modern autonomy, is the minimum demand of Albanians in Montenegro, and talks in connection with this issue must take place through the intercession of intermediators. By legally defining the institution of special status, the legitimate right of Albanians to maintain economic, cultural, educational, and other ties with the mother state and with Albanians in ethnic areas of the former Yugoslavia should be prescribed."

Even if the population figures were accurate, the Albanians are nevertheless a national minority in Montenegro that have thus far—and this will be especially resolved through the new constitution—enjoyed all rights, just like other nations and national minorities living in the territory of Montenegro, one of the two equal members of the FR [Federal Republic of] Yugoslavia.

A lively reaction to the demand by members of the Democratic Forum of Albanians in Montenegro that Montenegro be divided up, as the Opstina Committee of the Democratic Party of Socialists [DPS] in Bar assessed it, was also forthcoming from many members of the Albanian minority from Bar opstina. They informed their "leaders" who seek autonomy in Montenegro that they are inhabitants of Yugoslavia, of which Montenegro is a constituent part without any sort of autonomy, that they have no other homeland, and that "if anyone wants some other state as his homeland, then bon voyage."

The announcement by the Opstina Committee of the DPS of Bar says without beating around the bush that the memorandum, and the demand for Albanian autonomy in Montenegro, is nothing more than an attempt to extend a hand to advocates of a Greater Albania.

Debate on Draft Constitution Viewed

92BA1443B Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Sep 92 p 6

[Article by S. Panovic: "Cetinje the Capital"]

[Text] Budva, 15 Sep—One of the questions raised in last night's citizen's conference in Budva concerning the draft of the Montenegrin Constitution, whose discussion ends on 28 September, was whether the new Constitution of the Republic of Montenegro would in the future sanction the organization and existence of fascistoid organizations or parties in Montenegro?

"Article 38 guarantees freedom of political association, but a specific law will regulate these relations because some of the parties in Montenegro are already taking on fascistoid features," was the response of Dr. Damjan Seckovic, one of the authors of the future Montenegrin Constitution.

In the lively debate conducted last night, most of the discussion concerned the future coat of arms of Montenegro, which is represented in a sketch of a white eagle with an imperial crown over eagles' heads, with the imperial crypt in the right claw and a sphere in the left, and on his breast a lion on a red shield. Some people were in favor of the coat of arms offered, while others wanted it to be Lovcen, which would be portrayed as adapted to present and future times. It was said of the proposed anthem "This Way, This Way...," which was composed by King Nikola I, that it was too suggestive of conquest and that it would be best for the anthem to remain "Hey, Fellow Slavs."

There was also perplexity over the capital of Montenegro. Article 7 says that it is to be Podgorica, but the substitute capital is Cetinje. Dr. Damjan Seckovic argued that Cetinje might be the capital and Podgorica could continue to be the republic's administrative center.

It was emphasized that members of ethnic minorities (Skipetars) cannot be granted greater rights than those granted to citizens of Montenegro and that along those lines, Article 70 should be deleted, that is, minorities should not be granted greater rights than those that their parent states grant the Serbian nationality.